



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>

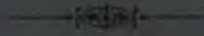


B 3 915 688

Murihiku






AND THE

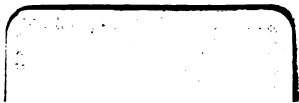
Southern Islands

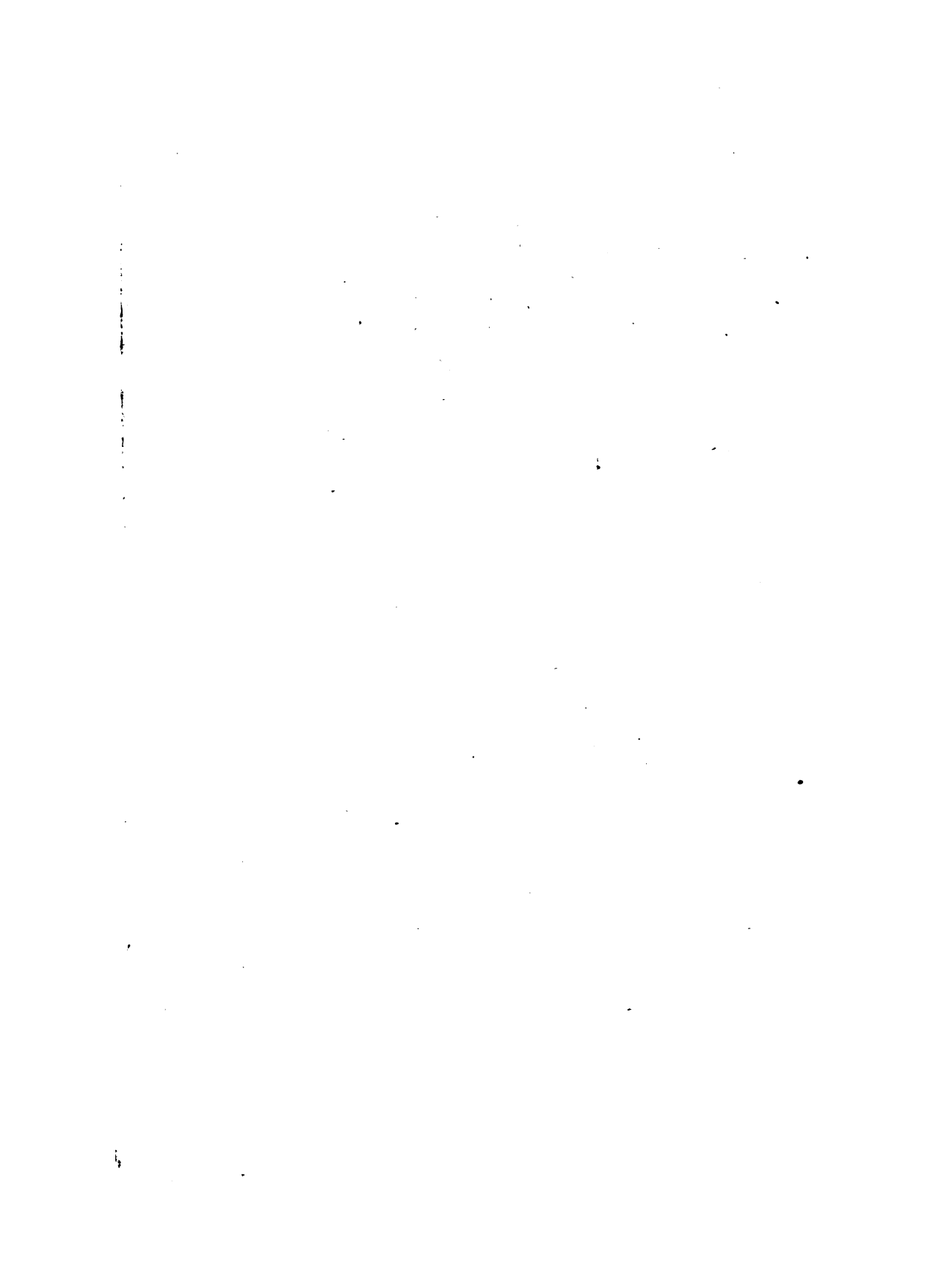


ROBERT McNAB.

LIBRARY
UNIVERSITY OF
CALIFORNIA
SANTA CRUZ

	SANTA CRUZ	
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA	<p>From the Personal Library of RAYMOND W. FIRTH</p> <p>Purchased in part through the contributions of the FRIENDS OF THE LIBRARY</p> 	THE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY
	SANTA CRUZ	







MURIHIKU
AND
THE SOUTHERN ISLANDS.

A HISTORY OF
THE WEST COAST SOUNDS, FOVEAUX STRAIT,
STEWART ISLAND, THE SNARES, BOUNTY,
ANTIPODES, AUCKLAND, CAMPBELL
AND MACQUARIE ISLANDS,
FROM 1770 TO 1829.

BY
ROBERT McNAB, M.A., LL.B.,
MEMBER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
AND
MINISTER OF LANDS AND AGRICULTURE,
NEW ZEALAND.

INVERCARGILL, N.Z.:
WILLIAM SMITH, PRINTER, ESK STREET,
1907.

DU
430
08
M316

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
CORRIGENDA	v.
PREFACE	vi.
INTRODUCTORY	1
CHAPTER I.	
DISCOVERY BY COOK, 1770	3
CHAPTER II.	
COOK SURVEYS DUSKY, 1773	13
CHAPTER III.	
VANCOUVER VISITS DUSKY, 1791	26
CHAPTER IV.	
FIRST SEALING GANG, 1792	38
CHAPTER V.	
SPANIARDS VISIT DOUBTFUL, 1793	49
CHAPTER VI.	
WRECK OF THE ENDEAVOUR, 1795	57
CHAPTER VII.	
BASS AND HIS MONOPOLY, 1801 TO 1803	70
CHAPTER VIII.	
SEALERS ARRIVE, 1803 TO 1805	78
CHAPTER IX.	
THE SEALING ISLANDS, 1804 TO 1808	87
CHAPTER X.	
STEWART ISLAND EXPLOITED, 1809 AND 1810	101
CHAPTER XI.	
MACQUARIE ISLAND RUSH, 1810 TO 1812	118
CHAPTER XII.	
BLUFF HARBOUR FLAX, 1813	130
CHAPTER XIII.	
MAROONED SEALING GANGS, 1808 TO 1817	148
The Solanders' Gangs, 1808-1813.	148
The Active's Gang, 1809-1813.	153
The Adventure's Gang, 1810-1817.	155

IV. MURHIKU AND THE SOUTHERN ISLANDS.

	Page.
CHAPTER XIV.	
HEADHUNTING, 1811 TO 1823	158
CHAPTER XV.	
MACQUARIE TRADE SLACKENS, 1813 TO 1825	167
CHAPTER XVI.	
THE GENERAL GATES, 1818 TO 1825	180
CHAPTER XVII.	
RUSSIANS AT MACQUARIE ISLAND, 1820	190
CHAPTER XVIII.	
CRUISE OF THE SNAPPER, 1822 TO 1823	199
CHAPTER XIX.	
THE NATIVES, 1823	211
CHAPTER XX.	
FIRST COASTAL DESCRIPTION, 1823	219
CHAPTER XXI.	
THE ELIZABETH HENRIETTA, 1823 TO 1825	229
CHAPTER XXII.	
STEWART'S FLAX AND TIMBER SCHEME, 1825	237
CHAPTER XXIII.	
SEALING DURING THE TWENTIES	250
CHAPTER XXIV.	
CAMPBELL AND MACQUARIE ISLANDS SHIPPING	266
APPENDIX A.	
COOK'S ENDEAVOUR CONTROVERSY	277
APPENDIX B.	
PICKERSGILL'S JOURNAL	294
APPENDIX C.	
MENZIES' JOURNAL	301
APPENDIX D.	
LOG OF THE BRITANNIA	318
APPENDIX E.	
LOG OF THE ENDEAVOUR	329
APPENDIX F.	
CAPTAIN KELLY'S EVIDENCE	350
INDEX	353

CORRIGENDA.

- Page 88. Third par., line 1, *for assayed read essayed.*
 89. Fifth par, line 10, *for Unght read Wright.*
 110. Third par., lines 3 and 4, *for islands and Island
 read coves and Cove.*
 131. Third par., line 6 }
 141. Second last line } *for Mushers read Masters.*
 142. Second par., line 7 }
 163. Second par., *for appendix read Appendix F.*
 171. Second par., line 5, *for Breston read Bristow.*
 Line 8, *for March read May.*
 174. Second par., line 3, *for Lauranie read L'Uranie.*
 Line 8, *for Howaway read stowaway.*
 175. Second par., line 2, *for Mirmy read Mirnyj.*
 177. First par., line 1, *for The next was her last trip
 read Another trip and then came her last.*
 179. REFERENCES.—3, *for p read pp 269 and 270.*
 318. Line 11, *for Rd read Rt.*
 340. Line 2, *for a 6 Butts read 6 Butts thus [here
 follows sketch.]*
-

KEY TO REFERENCES.

- Aust. Australian.
 B.D.A. Boston Daily Advertiser.
 H.R. Historical Records of New South Wales.
 H.T.G. Hobart Town Gazette.
 S.G. Sydney Gazette.

P R E F A C E.

The accompanying historical work is the result of nine years research by the author into the forgotten past of south New Zealand history. That research first had for its object the early history of Southland, but as the information accumulated its area of operation enlarged to include the islands lying away to the south and its range extended to cover the very earliest period of European discovery and trade.

As the field developed the author realised that the locality selected had a remarkable early history, commencing with the great discoverers Cook, Vancouver and Malaspina, developing into a seal, flax, oil and timber trade under the best known names in early Australian shipping, running through various combinations of these trades and exhausting several of them before many of the events happened which in New Zealand history are regarded generally as beyond its ken. The popular chronology of this country begins with the arrival of Cook in 1769, and treats as almost the next event the loss of the Boyd in 1809, following that up with the landing of Marsden in 1814, and then going on to missionary history in the Bay of Islands. Research confined to the history of one portion only of New Zealand, shows how erroneous is such a representation of past events. The most fascinating period of New Zealand history—when the early sealer in his little thirty ton craft battled with the storms of the Tasman Sea and the uncharted rocks of Foveaux Strait in pursuit of skins, and later on when the sea elephant hunter, in his seventy-five ton brig, sought the cold inhospitable Macquarie Islands for the first cargoes of oil—had not only come but had gone, before Marsden landed.

The reader has to be told at this stage that Native

history is not touched upon, except so far as it comes into contact with the European visitor. The work is intended to chronicle the progress of discovery and civilized trade. References to Natives are only incidental and occur in cases where sealing gangs came into conflict with the Maoris, or where, as in Captain Edwardson's case, a Maori Chief was captured and brought to Sydney, thus coming into contact with men who have handed down to us the valuable material procured by them.

The search for the necessary information has been fairly extensive—much more so perhaps than the reader would imagine from merely glancing over the pages. Very little of the matter was already in book form and what was so available was hidden away in rare volumes in English, Spanish, French and Russian, the last three without English translations. Malaspina's voyage, containing the account of the Spanish expedition, is in Spanish; Edwardson's information is in French and Bellinghausen's visit to Macquarie Island is in Russian. These are all extremely rare and no English translation of any of them is known, save that made for the author and published herein.

To give the reader an idea of the field covered for material, the places where search had to be made are mentioned. Owing to the early period under review—1770 to 1829—naturally nothing but a few quotations from very early books could be got in New Zealand. The Hobart Colonial Secretary's Office was visited for information of Van Dieman's Land trade with New Zealand, and in Sydney the magnificent Free Public Library with its files of local papers from 1803 to the present date was patiently searched for months. At both places were got, among the general shipping news, information supplied by captains and others, while the events were fresh in their minds, of stirring scenes by land and sea. Sydney supplied the great bulk of this class of information, both from her Historical Records and from her newspaper files. Outside of Australia the

trail was followed to the United States. The ports on the Eastern Coast, whence sealers and others came to scour the ocean, were visited, and Salem, Boston, New Bedford, Nantucket, Providence, Newport, Baltimore, Philadelphia and Washington, supplied, in their historical societies and public libraries, a mass of newspapers and log books from which much was brought to the light of day, to add to the knowledge of our country's history. The American newspaper files did not contain such a mass of information as the Australian. The distance at which the events happened in part accounts for this, but the reticence of their early whalers, regarding the places visited and the nature of their trade, is a conspicuous feature in American journalism of this date. So far was it carried, that to prevent rival firms getting information, only the barest mention was made of matters involving life and death. Naturally the Mother Country had material for research, and in the Record Office and the British Museum, time—all too short—was profitably spent amongst long forgotten manuscripts. In the former were found the logs of all Government vessels, enabling the first discovery or earliest mention of localities to be recorded in the words of the discoverer, in the latter, many rare and valuable manuscripts of a general nature.

Outside of these visits of the author, his research work has involved a fairly wide correspondence. The early days of New Zealand saw many of the European nations strongly represented in voyaging and discovery and in the sealing trade, and records of their visits would naturally be expected to be found in the capitals of their respective countries. In prosecution of the search for this class of information correspondence has been carried on for some years with Madrid and Paris, resulting in the discovery of valuable information for this work, and New Zealand history generally. Even St. Petersburg, the distant capital of the great Russian Empire, has, hidden away in its archives, interesting early information about the colony, which the author has not yet given up hopes of obtaining.

Nothing has surprised the author more, during his long search, than the great mass of discovery work found placed upon record in books but never translated into our language and the number of great explorers, scarcely known to our writers, even by name. With two of these we are brought into contact in the present work; the great Spaniard Malaspina, and the equally great Russian Antarctic explorer, Bellinghansen. The former visited Doubtful Sound in 1793, the latter, Macquarie Island in 1820. The British Museum knows of no English translation of the work of either, although an abridged German translation is to be found of the latter. Yet with the exception of Cook, we have produced no navigator greater than either of them.

Three years were spent in patient search before Malaspina's narrative was procured. One Australian historian, after getting on the track of it, abandoned the pursuit, concluding that the proceedings of the voyage had never been published. No copies of the first edition are known to the author, but a second edition published in Madrid in 1885 can readily be procured. As translated the New Zealand reference is produced in Chapter V. Bellinghansen's visit was discovered through mention being made by the captain of a sealing vessel called the *Regalia*, when she arrived at Hobart Town from Macquarie Island in March 1821, that two Russian vessels had called there for wood and water. Search in the Sydney files of that date revealed the name of the commander and the nature of the expedition, and the catalogue of the British Museum showed where there was to be found a published narrative of the voyage. The translation makes Chapter XVII and throws more light upon the methods and daily life of the early sea-elephant hunters of the southern seas, than anything written in the English language. It should be mentioned also that Bellinghansen visited the mainland of New Zealand and spent some time in Queen Charlotte Sound.

Reviewing, if the reader will permit of it, some of the work accomplished in the preparation of this book,

the author would give the first place in interest to the discovery of the log of the Endeavour, the old Dusky Sound wreck. The mention of American vessels, found while searching the Australian records, suggested a visit to the old whaling ports of the Atlantic States and in 1906 the opportunity unexpectedly presented itself of realizing this long felt desire. Salem, Mass., was the first of the smaller ports visited, and there in the magnificent manuscript collection of the Essex Institute was found in one volume, got no one knows where, the log of the Britannia when she deposited the first sealing gang on the coast of New Zealand in 1792 and when she subsequently returned there in 1793, of the Endeavour, during her celebrated voyage when she was abandoned in Facile Harbour in 1795, and of the Providence, the first vessel built in Australasia, when she sailed out of the yard in which she was built in Dusky during the same year. This marvellous combination of material was rendered possible by the fact that Mr Robert Murray passed from fourth mate of the Britannia to third of the Endeavour and finally became captain of the Providence, carrying the same log throughout. It is not in every log that much information is found, all depends on the writer, but in this case the officer has fairly revelled in wealth of detail when the glamor of the lovely Sound was upon him. The mystery of Dusky vanished with this find. Probably it will never fall to the lot of the author, no matter how long his research work may be continued, to discover again so remarkable a series of manuscripts.

The steps taken and still being followed up, are necessarily bringing to hand from day to day fresh information relative to our history and the book could be added to considerably even now, if the author were suddenly called upon to re-write it. Eighteen months ago the work was almost ready for the public and the first portion of an edition of six hundred copies was printed off when the opportunity already referred to presented itself and the author visited America, where his

researches resulted in such an amount of new material relating to Southern New Zealand that on his return the whole edition was destroyed and the work re-written, necessitating long delay.

The author has been told that owing to the disconnected nature of the material, it is impossible to write the early history of the south of New Zealand. Perhaps it is so, and perhaps this book will prove the best evidence of it. The material certainly is all that is claimed of it, but every effort has been made to place the facts in chronological order, in groups based upon the relationship of the events, and any abruptness in passing from one chapter to another may be due to the inability of the author or to the inaccessibility of the material. No doubt as new material comes to light wider generalization will render possible a more connected narrative.

With the intention of being explanatory and not apologetic, the object of placing upon record the narrative in such detail as has been done, is here referred to. So far no writer has sought to go with any degree of minuteness into the early trade connection of civilized man with these islands and the vast amount of information which exists under this heading is unknown to the writer of modern history. Research indicates three great centres of trade in earlier days,—Foveaux Strait, Cook Strait and the Bay of Islands, and the author thinks that if the most minute detail of the earliest history of these places is brought into the light, in the form sought in this work, carefully checked and proved, there will be given to the writer of colonial history generally, material on which to base his work with a proper conception of its significance. Without a knowledge of the past a proper appreciation of the present is, of course, impossible. This book will supply, it is hoped, information up to the year 1829, relating to the southern trade centre.

The year 1829 was the end of the sealing and the beginning of the shore-whaling trade and for this reason was selected as a suitable stopping place when political

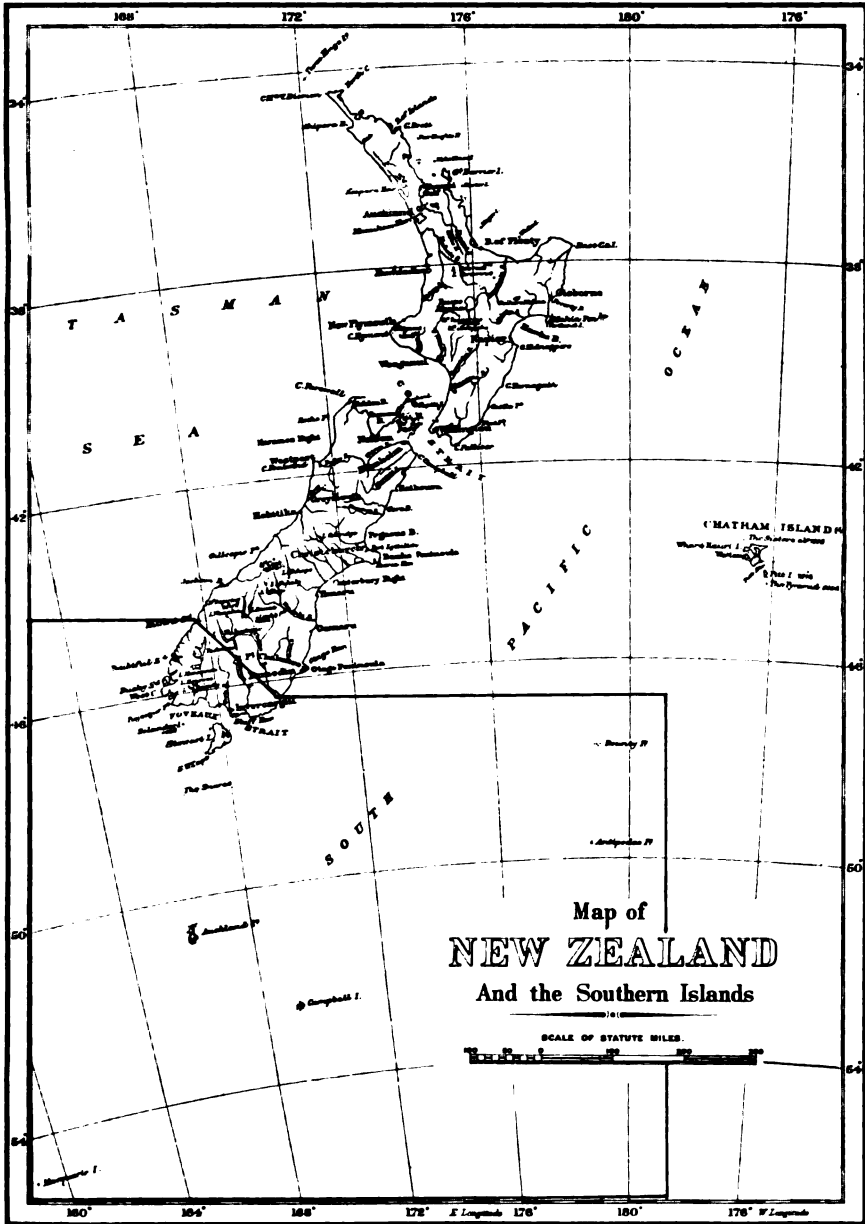
changes took the author away from his uncompleted work, to shoulder other responsibilities. The material is ready, however, for a continuation of the narrative almost down to the time when our present histories take up the thread, on the recognised settlement of the country. To present this to the reader in proper form must be reserved for opportunities yet to come, and as the publication of the Historical Records of New Zealand by the Government will enable the matter contained in the last four Appendices to be put there, the addition of the further material and the revision of the old can go hand in hand to bring the whole of the early history of Foveaux Strait within the compass of one volume.

The scheme as outlined would indicate that the work could not reasonably be expected to form a popular reading book. To have accomplished this would have required a literary ability, added to a capacity for research, which the author makes no claim to possess. The work has proved a source of great pleasure, whiling away many pleasant hours, cementing almost as many agreeable friendships, and bringing about several interesting visits to distant parts of the earth: and now that the labourer's task is over, he will be satisfied if disappointment with the narrative is accompanied with an admission that the information conveyed justifies its publication and is followed by a feeling that writers, gifted with the power of making history attractive, can gather what stores of information they want, from inside its covers.

The author would not like to conclude his labours without some suitable acknowledgment of the services rendered to him by many gentlemen here and in other lands. To attempt to mention the names of all would be out of the question, but there are many who may be said to have rendered signal service. Mr A. H. Turnbull of Wellington placed the finest collection of New Zealand books and early Sydney files in the Colony at the author's disposal. Mr F. M. Bladen of the Free Public Library, Sydney, gave valuable information and access to copies of rare papers under his control. The assistance

of the Hon. Geo. Fred. Williams, and Dr. Weld of Boston, Mass., U.S.A., did much to bring about the success of the Atlantic States tour. In the various historical societies visited in Massachusetts, the following rendered invaluable aid: Mr Tillinghast of the State House Library, Boston; Mr G. F. Dow, of the Essex Institute, Salem; Mr L. W. Jenkins of the Peabody Museum, Salem; Mr G. H. Tripp of the New Bedford Library; and Messrs W. A. Wing, Frank Wood and H. B. Worth of the Dartmouth Historical Society, New Bedford. Dr Putnam and Mr David Hutcheson of the Library of Congress, Washington, rendered good service in that magnificent collection of literary material. Mr Frank E. Brown of New Bedford supplied a valuable collection of old charts of New Zealand. In London our High Commissioner, the Hon. W. P. Reeves, exerted himself specially to assist the author. Mr Charles Wilson, Librarian to the New Zealand Parliament, made accurate translations of the rare French works quoted. Mr A. B. Thomson of the General Assembly Library overlooked the publication and prepared the index.

Parliament Buildings,
Wellington, New Zealand,
4th May, 1907.



MURIHIKU AND THE SOUTHERN ISLANDS.

INTRODUCTORY.

Murihiku signifies, in the Maori tongue, the last joint of the tail, and is the name given by the original inhabitants to the extreme southern portion of the South Island of New Zealand. In this narrative, it is applied to the country lying between Milford Sound and Molyneux Bay. The Southern Islands comprise Stewart and the adjoining Islands, the Snares, Bounties, Antipodes and Aucklands and the Campbell and Macquarie Islands.

The reader will be given an account of the discovery of these places, and a narrative of the trade which developed when navigators ascertained their whereabouts and realized their capabilities. The selection of this area is no arbitrary one. The discovery of these lands was followed by the prosecution of the seal fishery upon their shores, and trade gradually worked south, as the seal industry began to give out on the mainland. The volume will end with the last of this great industry, at the close of the third decade of the 19th century.

The great bulk of the material has been obtained from sources beyond the reader's power to consult, such as manuscripts and early press references in Hobart, Sydney and London, and many of the American cities. The method

of treatment adopted has been selected so as to place upon record (as nearly as possible in its original form), the earliest information upon the subject and at the same time to weave the whole into a continuous narrative. Students should find within the following pages, the historical record, as well as the historical narrative.

To allow the reader himself to determine disputes regarding accuracy, each statement of importance has its authority at the end of its chapter.

A mass of material from press files and manuscripts, has come into the writer's possession at different times. Some are sufficiently dealt with in the extracts made, or the references given; others again which cannot conveniently be thus handled, will be found in the Appendices.

None of this information has hitherto been published in book form.

CHAPTER I.

DISCOVERY BY COOK, 1770.

In this narrative it is not intended to enter into the question of who discovered the Islands of New Zealand. Any doubt which may obscure that event is, for our purpose, sufficiently dispelled by Cook's statement, that in 1642 Tasman sailed from Batavia with two ships belonging to the Dutch East India Company, discovered Van Diemen's Land, a small part of the western coast of New Zealand, the Friendly, and Prince William's Islands. From that date until 1770—a period of 128 years—the Islands of New Zealand were unvisited. Then came Cook.

Cook's voyage was due to the fact that the Royal Society, in anticipation of the Transit of Venus in the year 1769, had presented a memorial to the King, praying that a properly equipped vessel might be sent to some selected spot in the South Seas, for observation purposes. At first it was intended to observe the Transit at the Friendly Islands, but Captain Wallis, having opportunely returned from his voyage round the world, advised Otaheite, which he had just discovered, and to this place the expedition was ordered to proceed.

Although the primary object of the expedition was the observation of the Transit of Venus, Cook had additional instructions. He was commissioned to clear up the mystery which surrounded the geography of the Pacific Ocean, especially towards the south by proceeding in that direction as far as latitude 40°; if he found no land, he was to sail westward until he reached New Zealand, which was to be thoroughly explored, after which he was to return by any route he thought proper.¹

The prevalent opinion was that a great area of land must exist, in the south, as a counterpoise to the immense masses in the northern hemisphere, and that New Zealand was part of

a great southern continent, which stretched far east and west. Cook was to cruise along the fortieth parallel and remove all doubt. It was in the carrying out of his instructions therefore, that on 6th October, 1769, he sighted land in the vicinity of Poverty Bay.

Cook was determined that New Zealand's connection with this supposed Southern Continent should be definitely ascertained. First he circumnavigated the North Island, then he sailed down the eastern and up the western coast of the South Island. Cape Saunders was discovered on 25th February, 1770.^a When in a line with Foveaux Strait the great navigator made an effort to pick up the supposed continent to the south, and sailed in that direction, looking for signs of land. On the twenty-eighth, finding none, he stood away to the north, and on 2nd March was about 68 miles from Cape Saunders. A south-west swell continuing until the third, confirmed his opinion that there was no land near in that direction, and on the fourth he made westward to complete his survey of the mainland. Whales, seals, and a penguin were seen on the fourth, and the fact is recorded that no seals had been seen by him on the whole coast of the North Island. At half past one Europeans for the first time gazed upon the rugged coast line of Murihiku, and sailing with a fair wind, were within 9 or 12 miles of it before dark. The description given by Cook indicates that the land sighted was part of the coast at the Molyneux. This name was, in fact, given to the bay by Cook after the master of the ship, Robert Molyneux.^a A fire was visible on the coast the whole night, so that evidently at that date the land was inhabited. In the morning the vessel was within nine miles of a high but level coast, and in the afternoon land stretched along to the north, and what appeared like an island, evidently Ruapuke, became visible. As Cook sailed on, the mountains of Stewart Island, stretching away to the south, loomed out over the top of Ruapuke, and its appearance is thus described: "We could not see this land join to that of the Northward of us, there either being a total separation, a deep Bay, or low land between them." It is interesting to note that the first appearance of the land at Stewart Island suggested to Cook its

insularity. Why he put it down as the mainland will appear later. At this stage Cook would be off Waipapa Point. Regarding the question of the insularity of Stewart Island, Sydney Parkinson, Banks' draughtsman, speaks even more emphatically: "The land which we then saw at a considerable distance, seemed to be an island, having a great opening between it and the land which we had passed before; but, the captain designing to go round, we steered for the south point hoping it was the last."⁴

During the night of the ninth and morning of the tenth March the expedition nearly came to a sudden and disastrous termination. At daybreak, when off the southern point of Stewart Island, there was suddenly discovered under the bow a ledge of rocks upon which the sea broke very high. Though the reef was not more than three-quarters of a mile distant, the vessel was in 45 fathoms of water. Owing to the direction of the wind, the rocks could not be weathered, so Cook tacked, made to the eastward and got clear of the danger through a lucky change of the wind to the northward. On examining these rocks Cook found that they were six leagues from the land, and that three leagues to the northward lay others on which broke a tremendous surf. As he had passed these latter rocks in the night, and discovered the others under his bow at day-break, it could readily be seen that danger had been very imminent and escape most fortunate. From the situation of these rocks, so well adapted to catch unwary strangers, Cook called them the Traps.

At this point Cook describes the land (Stewart Island) as having "very much the appearance of an Island extending N.E. by N. to N.W. by W., distant from the Shore about 4 or 5 Leagues." The land, he said, was moderately high and barren, with nothing on it but a few straggling shrubs. Though not a tree was to be seen, it was remarkable for a number of white patches, which he took to be marble, as they reflected the sun's rays very strongly; patches of the same kind were observed at many points on the New Zealand coast.

It was now patent that they had reached the end of the land. A large hollow swell from the south-west continuing ever since their last gale convinced Cook that there was no

land in that direction. He gave therefore the name of South Cape to the point, and decided to try and make round to his initial point by the west coast. Here let it be noted that Cook did not call the point the South Cape under the impression that it was the extremity of the mainland. At this stage he had twice concluded that it was an island; the error of supposing it to be part of the mainland had yet to be made.

Early as it was in New Zealand history, there were indications of coming events. The day the south of New Zealand was rounded was a junior officers' birthday, and to provide a special delicacy, a dog was killed, the hind quarters roasted, the fore made into a pie, and with the stomach the nearest possible approach to a haggis provided for the Scotchmen of the expedition.⁵ Might not this be considered as an omen of Scotch domination, now so long associated in popular opinion with the Settlement of Otago.

On 11th March Cook discovered on his left, a very high barren rock about a mile in circumference, which he named Solander Island, after Dr. Solander who accompanied him. Dr. Solander, a Swede, educated under the celebrated Linnaeus, was a man of great attainments in Natural History, and was one of the librarians of the British Museum. Joseph (afterwards *Sir* Joseph) Banks, a Fellow of the Royal Society, accompanied Cook, taking with him, at his own expense, Dr. Solander and seven others—two draughtsmen including Sidney Parkinson, a secretary, and four servants.⁶ Banks was a wealthy Lincolnshire landowner of Swedish origin, whose hobby was exploration and natural science, and who did not regard the attendant expense so long as the opportunity could be taken advantage of to further the cause of learning. It is worthy of notice that it was one of Banks' suite (Nicholas Young) who first sighted New Zealand. Banks' name is handed down in Banks Peninsula in Canterbury; thought, at the time the name was given it, to be an island.

Cook had now sailed in past Solander Island, and was well off Colac Bay. He found himself in what appeared a large, open bight, with no sign of any harbour or shelter for shipping, against south-west and southerly winds. The face

of the country was rugged, being full of craggy hills, on the summits of which were several patches of snow. Bush could be seen in the valleys and on the high ground, but there was no sign of any inhabitants. The wind inclining to the shore, Cook did not like the position, and again stood away to sea.

It was here he made his final observations on the question of whether what is now known as Stewart Island, was an island or merely part of the mainland. He says:—"And now we thought that the land to the Southward, or that we had been sailing round these 2 days past, was an Island, because there appeared an Open Channell between the N. part of that land and the S. part of the other in which we thought we saw the Small Island we were in with the 6th Instant; but when I came to lay this land down upon paper from the several bearings I had taken, it appeared that there was but little reason to suppose it an Island. On the contrary I hardly have a doubt but what it joins to and makes a part of the mainland."

Unless given us in Cook's own words, it would be incredible that he could have made such a mistake—of concluding that it was part of the mainland. The opinion seems to have been formed after mature deliberation, too. The island is triangular in shape; and while off the eastern angle "we could not see this land join to that to the northward;" while on the southern angle it had "very much the appearance of an island;" and while off the northern angle "we thought we saw the Small Island we were in with the 6th Instant." Satisfied from looking at Nature's work that it was an island, Cook changed his mind when he contemplated his own sketch on his cabin chart, and marked down the coast seen as part of the mainland. One of the great observers of Nature of his day, he discounted three observations of Nature by one observation of his own handiwork. The mistake in calling Banks' Peninsula an island was easily made, and was a very different thing from calling Stewart Island a peninsula, after making three observations which assured him that it was an island. Cook's conclusion was adopted by all for thirty-eight years, and navigators, acting on it, sailed round the South Cape instead of coming through the strait. It was not until early

in 1809 that the error was rectified, and Foveaux Strait disclosed to the shipping world.

Coming out of Colac Bay Cook steered round Solander Island, and on the thirteenth picked up the land again. As it cleared up in the afternoon, he hauled in for a bay which he detected, and in which there appeared to be good anchorage; but in about an hour, finding the distance too great to run, before it would be dark, and the wind blowing too hard to make the attempt safe in the night, he bore away along the shore.

This bay Cook called Dusky Bay, the name evidently suggested by his inability to make it before dusk. He describes it as between three and four miles broad at the entrance, and seeming to be fully as deep as it was broad. It contained several islands, behind which he concluded there must be shelter from all winds if only a sufficient depth of water existed. The northern point was rendered remarkable by five high peaked rocks having the appearance of the four fingers and thumb of a man's hand, and on this account he gave it the name of Point Five Fingers.

Prevented from entering Dusky, Cook sailed along the west coast, in search of some place in which to anchor and get provisions. The name West Cape he gave to the westernmost point of land south of Dusky. At noon on the day after leaving that port he describes passing "a little Narrow opening in the land where there appear'd to be a very Snug Harbour"—Doubtful Sound. Cook says, "The land on each side the Entrance riseth almost perpendicular from the Sea to a very considerable Height; and this was the reason why I did not attempt to go in with the Ship, for I saw clearly that no wind could blow there but what was right in, or right out, that is, Westerly or Easterly; and it certainly would have been highly imprudent in me to have put into a place where we could not have got out but with a wind that we have lately found to blow but one day in a Month. I mention this because there were some on board that wanted me to harbour at any rate, without in the least Considering either the present or future Consequences." He is evidently referring to the incident which produced the name Doubtful, and that the person

indicated was Banks, is put beyond doubt when we read the latter's journal, where he says they passed, much to his regret, three or four places, with the appearance of harbours as he wished to examine the mineral appearance.' Skirting along the coast, Cook sailed round the north of the Middle Island, and into Admiralty Bay. His arrival here completed his circumnavigation of the two islands.

Reviewing his trip along the west coast, Cook sums up the result as follows: "I have mentioned on the 11th Instant, at which time we were off the Southern part of the Island, that the land seen then was rugged and mountainous; and there is great reason to believe that the same ridge of Mountains extends nearly the whole length of the Island from between the Westernmost Land seen that day and the Easternmost seen on the 13th. There is a space of about 6 or 8 Leagues of the sea Coast unexplored, but the Mountains inland were Visible enough. The land near the Shore above Cape West is rather low, and riseth with a gradual ascent up to the foot of the Mountains, and appear'd to be mostly covered with wood. From Point Five Fingers down to the Latitude of $44^{\circ} 20'$ there is a narrow ridge of Hills rising directly from the Sea, which are Cloathed with wood; close behind these hills lies the ridge of Mountains, which are of a Prodidgious height, and appear to consist of nothing but barren rocks, covered in many places with large patches of Snow, which perhaps have lain there since the Creation. No country upon Earth can appear with a more rugged and barren Aspect than this doth; from the Sea for as far inland as the Eye can reach nothing is to be seen but the Summits of these rocky Mountains, which seem to lay so near one another, as not to admit any Vallies between them."

The expedition's instructions having been carried out, the Endeavour was provisioned and sailed for England, where she arrived safely in the following year.

Cook attributes a great deal of his success and the failure of others to the class of vessel employed. Everyone had his own opinion of what was a suitable vessel. Some advocated large ships, such as forty-gun boats or East India Company's ships; others preferred large, good sailing frigates, or the

three decked ships employed in the Jamaica trade. Cook's idea was entirely different. The ship must have the qualities which would best combat the anticipated dangers, the greatest of which in the most distant parts of the world was running aground on an unknown, and perhaps savage coast. The ship, therefore must not be of great draught, yet of sufficient burden and capacity to carry a proper quantity of provisions and necessaries for her complement of men for the full time necessary. She must be constructed to take the ground with a minimum of danger, and to lie comfortably on shore while accidental damage was being repaired. This could not be done with forty-gun ships of war, frigates, East India Company's ships, or the large three-decker West Indiamen. The only vessel fulfilling these requirements was the North Country built ship, intended for the coal trade. The Endeavour was therefore selected by the Navy Board, even before Cook's appointment. The Board recommended the Lords of the admiralty to purchase "a cat built bark" instead of a ship of war, as providing more storage room for a long voyage. Being authorised to purchase, they procured a "bark of the burthen of 368 tons," called her the Endeavour and fitted her out for a voyage.^s The next month Lieutenant James Cook was appointed to take command.

Cook's eulogium on his old vessel was as follows:—"It was upon these considerations (mentioned above) that the Endeavour was chosen for that voyage. It was to these properties in her that those on board owed their preservation; and hence we were able to prosecute discoveries in those seas so much longer than any other ship ever did, or could do. And, although discovery was not the first object of that voyage, I could venture to traverse a far greater space of sea, till then unnavigated, to discover greater tracts of country on high and low south latitudes, and to persevere longer in exploring and surveying more correctly the extensive coasts of those new discovered countries, than any former Navigator, perhaps, had done during one voyage."

The fate of the Endeavour has often been a matter of doubt, and always one of interest. Distinguished persons have held that her bones were laid to rest in New Zealand;

an ex-Governor of this colony going so far as to label a piece of our oldest wreck, "Cook's Endeavour." Only quite recently one of the leading politicians in Australia stated that the old Endeavour would be purchased by his Government and anchored in Botany Bay. For what records we have of her history we are indebted to the enthusiasm of admirers of the great navigator in different parts of the world.⁹ Their researches show that the old barque had many ups and downs after Cook left her. The first account of her career may be thus stated with perfect confidence.

1768. A vessel called the "East Pembroke" built at Whitby, was purchased by the Admiralty, renamed the "Endeavour," and sailed with Captain Cook.

1770. Sailed round the southern portion of New Zealand during February and March.

1771. Arrived from New Zealand with Cook, after which on 15th August she was put into commission and prepared for sailing to the Falkland Islands as a store ship.

1774. Paid off 22nd October, after completing her third voyage to the Falkland Islands.

1775. Sold on 7th March for the sum of £645.

After this, there are conflicting accounts regarding her. The Newport Historical Society claims that she is identical with *La Liberte*, a French vessel which ended her days at Rhode Island and that her history was as follows.

1790. Sold to an American (Capt. Wm. Hayden) in France, and name changed to *La Liberte*.

1791. Fitted out as a French Whaler at Dunkirk, and sailed from there.

1793. Arrived at Newport Harbour on 23rd August from a whaling voyage near the Cape of Good Hope, Nathaniel Churchill, Master.

1794. Attempting to leave Newport she was disabled; subsequently she was condemned, dismantled and sold.

1815. A great gale in Newport Harbour demolished the hull.

1827. From a piece of the hull, dragged out of the mud, a presentation box was made, and given to Fenimore Cooper by his admirers.

When this contention was first published in 1834 it evoked a lengthy correspondence in Newport, Providence, and Boston papers and met with the most emphatic opposition from shipping masters and others, who contended that Cook's old Endeavour was not in Newport Harbour but in the Thames above Greenwich. After a careful examination of the evidence, the writer has come to the conclusion that the long accepted Newport version is not established, and that the balance of testimony supports the contention that Cook's Endeavour ended her days in the Thames.

For those who care to look into the question, the correspondence, with notes by the writer, has been set out in Appendix A.

REFERENCES.

CHAPTER I.

- | | |
|--|--|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Introduction to Cook's Second Voyage. 2. The general narrative of this voyage is taken from Cook's Journal—edited by Wharton (1893), pp. 200 to 211. 3. Parkinson's Journal (1773), p. 121. 4. Parkinson's Journal, p. 121. 5. Parkinson's Journal, p. 122. | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 6. H.R., Vol. I. pt. 1, p. 313. 7. Banks' Journal (1896), p. 219. 8. H.R., Vol. I. pt. 1, p. 308. 9. Introduction to Cook's Second Voyage. The "Endeavour." Notes by F. M. Bladen, N.S.W., 1904. The Mayor of Newport's letter in Sydney Morning Herald, April 8, 1899. |
|--|--|

CHAPTER II.

COOK SURVEYS DUSKY, 1773.

Cook had not long returned from his first voyage, when the Admiralty resolved to equip another expedition of two vessels to complete the exploration of the Southern Hemisphere. The *Endeavour*, which had proved so suitable for this class of work, was however not available, having gone as a store ship to the Falkland Islands, so it was decided to purchase two other vessels of similar construction. This was done, and two vessels (built in the same yards as the *Endeavour*) were secured; the larger, of 462 tons, under the name of the *Resolution*, was equipped at Deptford; the smaller, of 336 tons, under the name of the *Adventure*, was equipped at Woolwich. Cook was given the command of the *Resolution*, and of the expedition; and Furneaux, who had served under Wallis, was appointed to the command of the *Adventure*. On board the *Resolution* were 112 men; on the *Adventure*, 81.

Everything was supplied to combat the ill effects of a long sea voyage, which knowledge suggested as useful and desirable. In case of accidents, the frame of a small vessel of twenty tons was built and shipped on board each vessel of the expedition. Scientific men were also sent; Hodges as painter, Forster, father and son, as naturalists, and Wales and Bailey as astronomers.¹ Cook therefore was very well provided with scientific men for his second voyage, but it was originally intended that he should have been even better equipped. Banks and Solander, and two other eminent men intended coming. The *Resolution* had been specially fitted with deck accommodation for them. They had been farewelled by their friends. Medals had been designed for to celebrate the event. All their baggage and five expert draftsmen,

to accompany them, had been put on board, before the *Resolution* sailed to Sheerness. On the voyage complaint was made that the excessive top hamper was likely to endanger the vessel, and on the matter being reported to Cook, he recommended its removal, which was done.² Banks and his associates then withdrew. So far as the correspondence between Cook and Banks is concerned it throws no light on the reason for their going no further; however, they appear to have parted in a friendly manner. Whatever the reason, the loss to science was enormous. We can readily imagine what a lengthened stay at Dusky, of men of their standing, would have meant to the world.

It is interesting to notice that early in the voyage—in July 1772—Cook's instructions to Furneaux speak of wintering in Queen Charlotte Sound, New Zealand, and of visiting a port in the southern part of New Zealand, and instruct him in such latter event to procure specimens of the different stones, held by some to contain minerals.³

The expedition left England in July 1772, and the Cape of Good Hope in November of the same year. It was Cook's intention, at this stage, to see if Van Diemen's Land was connected with New South Wales, but the wind proving unsuitable for making that shore, he headed away for Dusky Bay, or any other port to be found in the southern portion of New Zealand.⁴

Land was sighted on Thursday, 25th March, 1773, and in a thick haze Cook sailed up to the mouth of a bay which he took to be Dusky, but which turned out to be Chalky Inlet. Finding his mistake, he stood off for the night, and entered Dusky next day at noon. On the former trip he had done nothing more than ascertain the entrance to the bay, so he had to feel his way in with the greatest circumspection. The *Adventure* did not accompany him, as the two vessels had separated on the 8th February. Making his way in by the southern entrance and steering his vessel carefully amongst the numerous islets that met him there, after 117 days at sea, covering 3660 leagues of ocean without seeing land, he let go his anchor under Anchor Island in 50 fathoms of water, and moored his vessel by a hawser to the shore. In the face

of all difficulties and privations, only one man was laid up with scurvy, that scourge of the early navigators. This desirable result Cook attributed not only to the sweet wort he used so largely, but also to the frequent airing and sweetening of the ship. On Anchor Island, to provide fresh meat for the men, was killed the first seal in Dusky.

Not liking the anchorage—and captains familiar with Dusky say that it is a very bad one—Cook and his first lieutenant, Pickersgill, went out in different directions to look for a better. Both were successful, but Cook preferred his officer's discovery on the S.E. side of the bay and the next morning the Resolution was worked over to Pickersgill Harbour. Entering by the beautiful narrow channel between Crayfish Island and the mainland, Cook moored the Resolution "in a small creek, so near the shore as to reach it with a prow or stage, which Nature had in a manner prepared for us in a large tree whose end or top reached our gunwale." As the boats sent out brought in great quantities of fish, and numbers of wild fowl were to be seen, and as no one had ever landed before on any of the southern parts of New Zealand, Cook determined to stay some time and thoroughly explore the bay. This decision of his played a very important part in the history of southern New Zealand, as it gave an accurately surveyed harbour to the merchant service of the world. Pickersgill's log, containing a record of events during the Resolution's stay at Dusky will be found set out in Appendix B. The original is in the Record Office London, and it is interesting to read, if only to observe the modesty of an officer who does not record the fact that he discovered the harbour which Cook selected.

Thus did Captain Cook go into recruiting quarters in Pickersgill Harbour, Dusky Bay. Places were cleared in the bush to set up an observatory, a forge for repairing ironwork, tents for the sailmakers and coopers, a small brewery to brew for the sailors, and the hundred and one other things required in the conduct of such an expedition while recruiting. Forster says: "In the course of a few days, a small part of us had cleared away the woods from a surface of more than an acre, which fifty New Zealanders, with their tools of stone, could

not have performed in three months. This spot, where immense numbers of plants left to themselves lived and decayed by turns, in one confused inanimated heap; this spot, we had converted into an active scene, where a hundred and twenty men pursued various branches of employment with unremitting ardour. We felled tall timber-trees, which, but for ourselves, had crumbled to dust with age; our sawyers cut them into planks, or we split them into billets for fuel. By the side of a murmuring rivulet, whose passage into the sea we facilitated, a long range of casks, which had been prepared by our coopers for that purpose, stood ready to be filled with water. Here ascended the steam of a large cauldron, in which we brewed, from neglected indigenous plants, a salutary and palatable potion, for the use of our labourers. In the offing, some of our crew appeared providing a meal of delicious fish for the refreshment of their fellows. Our caulkers and riggers were stationed on the sides and masts of the vessel, and their occupations gave life to the scene, and struck the ear with various noises, whilst the anvil on the hill resounded with the strokes of the weighty hammer. Already the polite arts began to flourish in this new settlement; the various tribes of animals and vegetables, which dwelt in the unfrequented woods, were imitated by an artist in his noviciate; and the romantic prospects of this shaggy country lived on the canvas in the glowing tints of nature, who was amazed to see herself so closely copied. Nor had science disdained to visit us in this solitary spot; an observatory arose in the centre of our works, filled with the most accurate instruments, where the attentive eye of the astronomer contemplated the motions of the celestial bodies. The plants which clothed the ground, and the wonders of the animal creation, both in the forests and the seas, likewise attracted the notice of philosophers, whose time was devoted to mark their differences and uses. In a word, all around us we perceived the rise of arts, and the dawn of science, in a country which had hitherto lain plunged in one long night of ignorance and barbarism. But this pleasing picture of improvement was not to last, and like a meteor, vanished as suddenly as it was formed. We reembarked all our instruments and utensils, and left no other vestiges of our





residence, than a piece of ground from whence we had cleared the wood."s Mr Richard Henry, the caretaker of Resolution Island, Dusky, mentions visiting and photographing the spot on 14th December 1899. He describes the sight of the clearing as a big patch on the sunny side of Observation Point, fifty feet above the sea, probably taking a dozen men a week or two to clear.⁶

The author's visit to the spot was in January, 1905, during the trip of the Hinemoa round the Sounds. We anchored close on the Point. To our right lay the narrow opening through which the great navigator had towed his vessel into the little sanctuary. In front of us Cook had cleared the bush to fix his various stations, and at the water's edge could be seen the identical projecting ground from which the branches of trees reached the vessel and locked in the yards. To our left was the little stream of fresh water which proved of such value. Here we were face to face with the most historic ground on all the southern portion of New Zealand. We went ashore and stood on the spot. In the gloom of the new forest which has grown over the clearing, were visible here and there the stumps of the old rimus that one hundred and thirty one years before, Cook had cut down for ships' purposes. Under ordinary circumstances a period of fifty years would have proved too much for them; but here, protected from interference by man; sunlight excluded by a new growth of forest, and the air even, by a dense carpet of roots and fern of all kinds, the outline of these mementoes of Cook's stay have been protected from the ravages of time. And there seems no reason to doubt, that if the conditions are allowed to remain, they will continue to resist the "effacing fingers" of decay for another century. Venerable monuments indeed they are, and it should be the care of the colony, that a spot which is rendered so sacred from its associations with the greatest navigator of history, should be protected from all outside forms of destruction. As our party had been drinking in Cook's life and work for some time, it was with difficulty they could be induced to tear themselves away from that wooded knoll, every tree on which grew on hallowed ground.

On Sunday, 28th March, the first natives were met with.

They were discovered by some of the officers who had gone out shooting, and shortly afterwards a boat containing seven or eight New Zealanders came within musket shot of the ship, but would approach no nearer. After dinner Cook himself went after them, but although their huts were discovered, their inhabitants kept out of his road. Amongst the things left for them were medals, a number of which had been struck, and supplied to Cook, to hand to the natives of the newly discovered countries. On the one side of the medal was represented George III., on the other the two ships. The first given to a native in New Zealand was therefore at Dusky. Some of these medals, discovered in other parts of the Colony are now in the hands of collectors, and one may be seen in the Wellington Museum.

This Sunday appears to have been a busy day with Cook. In addition to following up the natives he penned an order to Captain Furneaux, dealing with his treatment for scurvy. At this time his absent colleague was in Queen Charlotte Sound and did not meet Cook until 18th May. This order is well worthy of reproduction and is as follows :

Captain Cook to Captain Furneaux.

By Capt. James Cook &c.

Whereas scurvey grass, sellery, and other vegetables are to be found in most uncultivated countries, especially in New Zealand, and when boil'd with wheat or oatmeal, with a proper quantity of portable broth, makes a very wholesome and nourishing diet, and has been found to be of great use against all scorbutick complaints, which the crews of his Majesty's sloops Resolution and Adventure must in some degree have contracted after so long a continuance at sea, you are therefore hereby required and directed, whenever vegetables are to be got, to cause a sufficient quantity to be boil'd with the usual allowance of wheat or oatmeal and portable broth every morning for breakfast for the company of his Majesty's sloops under your command, as well on meat days as on banyan days, and to continue the same so long as vegetables are to be got or untill further order. Afterwards you are

to continue to boil wheat or oatmeal for breakfast on Mondays, as directed by my order of the 6th of December last, but you are to discontinue to serve the additional half-allowance of spirit or wine mentioned in the said order.

Given under my hand, on board his Majesty's sloop Resolution, in Dusky Bay, this 28th day of March, 1773.'

J. Cook.

It was not until 6th April, when a man and a woman hailed them from Indian Island, that Cook obtained an interview with the natives. The conversation, which was little understood, was carried on chiefly by the younger of the two women. The natives turned out to be a little family, consisting of the man, his two wives, a young woman, a lad of about 14 years of age, and three small children. Sketches of them were made by Mr Hodges, and reproduced in Cook's Voyages. On Cook's third visit he found them "all dressed, and dressing, in their very best, with their hair combed and oiled, tied up upon the crowns of their heads, and stuck with white feathers. Some wore a fillet of feathers round their heads; and all of them had bunches of white feathers stuck in their ears; thus dressed, and all standing, they received us with great courtesy."

The home of this now celebrated family, and the scene of the first recorded "at home" in southern New Zealand, is thus recorded by Mr Richard Henry in 1900. "I was several days weather-bound there, and camped in Indian Cove, where Cook visited the Natives. It is a beautiful little place, though gloomy looking from outside, but after a little acquaintance it is all changed for the better. I saw the sites of several Maori huts quite distinctly, and not very old. Also, I think, those of the "pit-dwellers," which may be thousands of years old. One curious fire-place I dug out. It was about 2½ ft. square and 4 ft. deep, lined with big stones, as much as a man could carry, with ashes on the bottom mixed with shells. If it was a Maori fireplace, it was probably intended to hide the fire at night from enemies, or it may have been used by the older people. Then, it would account for us finding the charcoal so

deep down at Pigeon Island. It was up on a precipice 40 ft. above the boat harbour, and a good place to keep a look-out in the day time, though hidden in the bush. Indian Island is a poor anchorage but a good boat harbour. The levelled places for the canoes are just as if they were used yesterday, because there is no creek to disturb them."⁶

Although the natives were so friendly, Cook had great difficulty in persuading them to come on board. He went into their canoe with them. He caused the bagpipes and fife to be played, and the drum to be beaten for them as they sat on the shore; yet they would not come. The drum was the only thing that made any impression. When at length the chief was prevailed upon to come on board, he followed the South Sea custom of striking the side of the vessel with a small green branch before doing so. Sheep and goats which Cook had put on shore they gazed at stupidly, as things quite beyond their comprehension; hatchets and nails alone were regarded as of value. They also had the custom of making presents before securing any, which, Cook states, was common to the South Sea Islanders, but which he had not seen in New Zealand before. Natives, estimated to compose three or four families, were met with on several occasions during the stay at Dusky. Many traces however, were seen of native inhabitants, from which it was concluded that they wandered about a good deal, and were not very friendly with one another. So much for the native settlement on the shores of Dusky when Cook landed there.

As Cook visited Dusky to recruit his men and refit his ship, it is but natural that under these headings his observations should be fairly numerous. His first act on the vessel being moored was to send out a boat for fish to provide fresh food for his men. He found that the sound teemed with fish, so that an hour or two of fishing per day provided enough for the whole ship's company. At the very start some of the officers killed a seal, and the first fresh meat eaten by Cook in New Zealand on his second voyage was from the seal killed at Dusky. Summarising his experience Cook says: "What Dusky Bay most abounds with is fish; a boat with six or eight men, with hooks and lines, caught daily sufficient to serve the

whole ship's company. Of this article, the variety is almost equal to the plenty, and of such kinds as are common to the northern coast; but some are superior, and in particular the cole fish, as we called it (a species of cod, which from its external colour the sailors called a coal fish),^o which is both larger and finer flavoured than any I have seen before, and was, in the opinion of most on board, the highest luxury the sea afforded us. The only amphibious animals are seals. These are to be found in great numbers, about this bay, on the small rocks and isles near the sea coast." It was doubtless this information, coupled with the published chart of the sound, that brought the sealers round to Dusky about the end of the eighteenth century; making it a great trade centre for many years. But seals are just like other animals with a price set on their heads. The senseless, reckless, mad career of slaughter only stops when the means of gratifying it no longer exists. When the seals were practically exterminated, the butchery, perforce, ended; and now the seal, which once dotted every rocky headland, has to be protected by law, to enable one or two to be visible at long intervals of time.

Cook found the same lavish supply of life in the bird kingdom. Here for the first time, he saw the paradise duck, called by him the painted duck, in all he found five different kinds. The great navigator appeared to have enjoyed sport at all times; his journal teems with references to shooting seals and ducks, and the enjoyment thus afforded; and this doubtless trained him to habits of observation among the animal kingdom, which no one but a sportsman, could possibly acquire.

Reviewing the plates contained in Cook's Voyages the observer is struck with the accurate representations they give of Nature. In the plate representing the native family nothing could give a better idea of the typical scenery in the neighbourhood of Pickersgill Harbour, than the outline of the hills there delineated. In the representation of the manuka and the rimu the artist had been particularly happy, while in the sketch of the native flax which the present writer was wont to regard as weak, in that it represented the leaves branching readily from the main stem, examination shows this to be a

striking characteristic of the Dusky Bay variety.

Cook landed on 26th March, and sailed again on 11th May; having spent nearly two months within the hospitable confines of Dusky. The great work done during that period, was of course, the accurate survey and charting of the sound; and Cook must have been kept very busy to accomplish the work in the time; distance, length of coast line, and weather, were all against him; but in spite of these disadvantages the work was done, and done well.

The chart is, without exception, the finest made during his second voyage; and Cook says, as though apologising for taking up so much space descriptive of Dusky: "For although the country be far remote from the present trading part of the world, we can by no means, tell what use future ages may make of the discoveries made in the present." He therefore supplied an accurate chart, and laid down precise directions for entering and leaving the bay; for vessels entering Dusky and intending to sail to the southward, he recommended Facile Harbour, subsequently the scene of the wreck of the Endeavour, one of the most interesting of the early New Zealand wrecks. The writer's sketch of Dusky is dated 1st February, 1777, so that readers will see at what an early date this port was made known to the world.

It should also be remembered of Cook's visit to Dusky, that there he liberated geese, which he had brought with him from England. Goose Cove still records the fact. Seeds were also sown on the clearings he had made. The non-success of the importation of geese was doubtless due to the depredations of the weka; while the re-growth of the native forest smothered the growing plants. To show how deadly the weka would prove on the harmless geese the writer instances a case which came under his own notice in Dusky. The party disturbed a swan sitting on her nest, and although less than one minute elapsed before they reached the spot, the solitary egg which proved to be quite fresh, had been tapped by a weka and the contents were being extracted. No imported geese could overcome such an ever present foe.

This voyage of Captain Cook in the Resolution earned for him the medal of the Royal Society in 1776. It was

granted for performing a voyage of three hundred and eighteen days in a ship with one hundred and eighteen men, travelling between 30° N. and 71° S.; with the loss of only one man by sickness. Cook was the first man who successfully combated that terrible enemy of the navigator, scurvy. So great had been the human tribute which this fell disease levied upon seamen, that cases where one-fourth of the ship's compliment died, were not unknown. It is recorded that during twenty years in the early part of the sixteenth century, ten thousand mariners died of scurvy alone. This is by way of introduction to show the readers what Cook had set himself to combat. On arrival at Dusky, he had a number on the sick list, but daily these became fewer. Fresh food—fish, seal, and roast duck—are not to be easily beaten for the storm tossed mariner; and although the bay was found to be very wet, this does not appear to have been injurious to the health of the sailors. One of the first things he did when landing was to look out for a tree, from the leaves and branches of which he could brew beer, and he found what he called the spruce fir, but from the sketch of which is recognised the rimu (*dacrydium cupressinum*). The beer brewed from this tree was used to take the place of vegetables. Proving too astringent, there was mixed with the rimu an equal quantity of manuka (*leptospermum scoparium*) leaves (the tea plant), and the result was to render the beer very palatable and esteemed by everyone.

Cook's recipe for this primitive beer was as follows: "Make a strong decoction of the small branches of the spruce and tea plants, by boiling them three or four hours, or until the bark will strip with ease from off the branches; then take them out of the copper, and put in the proper quantity of molasses, ten gallons of which is sufficient to make a ton, or 240 gallons of beer; let the mixture just boil, then put it into the casks; and, to it add an equal quantity of cold water, more or less according to the strength of the decoction, or your taste: when the whole is milk warm, put in a little grounds of beer, or yeast if you have it, or anything else that will cause fermentation, and in a few days the beer will be fit to drink." All previous efforts to make a suitable beer had

failed, and it was while at Dusky, on this trip, that he was successful in the mixture which subsequent experience showed to be so useful for his men.

Of so much importance to mariners did Cook think this discovery to be, that he gave in his journal elaborate descriptions of the rimu and the manuka to assist in their identification. Of such value to humanity did the Royal Society think the results that they presented him with one of their medals. The use of the manuka leaf for tea making was known to the old whalers. When calling at their homes Shortland tells of tasting it, and describes it as a beverage much drunk by the whalers, wholesome, and agreeable when the taste is acquired.¹⁰

Fresh animal food and the best substitute that could be obtained locally for fresh vegetable food, formed the basis of Cook's system of nourishing his men during a long sea voyage. So strongly did he believe in fresh material that when amongst the icebergs, he sent boats' crews to break off large portions of ice to be melted, to enable fresh water to be given to the men. Fresh food was followed by fresh surroundings. After wet weather everything was got up from between decks and thoroughly aired, and the decks themselves well cleaned and dried with fires.

The Resolution was thoroughly overhauled, the rigging attended to, wood and water taken on board, and she left Pickersgill on Thursday, 29th April. It was however, Tuesday, 11th May, before she reached the open sea, as Cook sailed through what is now known as the Acheron Passage to the entrance north of Resolution Island, called Breaksea.

Cook's mention of the whale and the seal on these coasts did much to direct mariners to this portion of the world for whale oil and seal skins, and his survey of, and information regarding Dusky as a safe harbour, completed the knowledge required for embarking on the enterprise. In this connection it might even be claimed for Cook that he inaugurated the seal trade. He used the flesh for food, utilised the skins for repairing his rigging, and boiled down the fat to enable him to lay in a provision of lamp oil.¹¹ How soon sailing captains took up his hints, what results followed, and to what extent

he was correct in anticipating that a knowledge of Dusky would aid the commerce of the world, must remain to be told hereafter.

REFERENCES.

CHAPTER II.

- | | |
|--|--|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Cook's Second Voyage. Introduction. 2. H.R. (Historical Records of New South Wales), Vol. I. pt. 1, p. 352. 3. H.R., Vol. I. pt. 1, p. 365. 4. The general narrative regarding Dusky is taken from Cook's Second Voyage. 5. Forster's Voyage, p. 177. | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 6. Appendix to Journals of H. of R., 1900, C. 1, p. 151. 7. H.R., Vol. I. pt. 1, p. 374. 8. Appendix to Journals of H. of R., 1901, C. 1, p. 135. 9. Forster's Voyage, p. 126. 10. Shortland's Southern Districts of N.Z. (1851), p. 128. 11. Forster's Voyage, p. 151. |
|--|--|

CHAPTER III.

VANCOUVER VISITS DUSKY, 1791.

Cook having come and gone, a long period of time elapsed before the next historical event is recorded in the far south.

The residents of the West Indies applied to the King, to have the bread fruit tree introduced among them, and to gratify their desires, in 1787, Lieutenant Bligh was sent in a vessel called the *Bounty*, to the Society Islands, to procure as many plants as possible and convey them to Jamaica. Failing, through bad weather, to round Cape Horn, Bligh took the Cape of Good Hope route, making the latter place on 24th May, and Van Diemen's Land on 20th August, 1788. Continuing his voyage, at daylight on 19th September he passed the south part of New Zealand, and "discovered a cluster of small rocky islands." These he called the "Bounty Isles" and described them as "only $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles from east to west, and about half a league from north to south: Their number including the smaller ones, thirteen." They were located about 145 leagues east of the Traps, off the south end of New Zealand, in latitude $47^{\circ} 44'$ S., longitude $179^{\circ} 7'$ E."¹ On the 28th April in the following year, the mutiny on board Bligh's vessel took place. The after history of this Commander would be out of place here, but the mutiny of the *Bounty*, Bligh's subsequent governorship of New South Wales, his deposition, and the stirring events of that period, are intimately associated with the history of the little group of islets in the far south.

Meanwhile things of moment were taking place in adjacent lands; the coast of Australia had come under the notice of the British authorities, and a colonising and penal settlement under Governor Phillip, had been established at Sydney Cove, Port Jackson, New South Wales, on 26th January, 1788. One of the transports accompanying the expe-

dition was the *Sirius*, under the command of Captain John Hunter, and later in the year it was decided to send her to the Cape of Good Hope for supplies for the infant Colony; thither she sailed on 2nd October. The Governor declined to lay down Hunter's course, so the captain elected to sail by the eastern route and steered for the South Cape of New Zealand, which he crossed on 12th October, in rather thick weather, without sighting land at a distance of about a degree and a half.* Already therefore, Cook's idea of the trade of the world finding this locality an important one was beginning to develop, and Dusky was proving to be almost in the eastern highway, from Sydney to the Cape of Good Hope, and from England to the Pacific Islands. Hunter was afterwards Governor of New South Wales from 1795 to 1800. The *Sirius* was wrecked at Norfolk Island in 1790, and on 30th May, 1905, her anchor was found at the scene of the wreck and shortly afterwards taken to Sydney.

Apart from the discovery of the Bounties, and Hunter's mention of the South Cape in 1788, there is nothing for us to record for a very long time after Cook's visit. Discovered in 1770, and surveyed in 1773 by its discoverer, Dusky Sound remained unvisited until Vancouver called there in 1791. This event is another witness to the importance of this bay in the then condition of marine navigation.

Cook's system for preserving the lives of his sailors, perfected with such care during his stay in Dusky, had proved so successful that the long ocean voyage was robbed of half its terrors, and a great impetus was given to exploration, and the commerce of the world. All sorts of sailors now embarked on long voyages, and the utmost ends of the earth were visited. These visits naturally rendered a proper survey and scientific exploration of the new lands absolutely necessary in the interests of shipping. There was also, waiting to be solved, the question of a passage between the Atlantic and the Pacific. To make provision for these various matters, George the Third, in the Autumn of 1789, planned an expedition to explore the coast of North West America.*

The command of this expedition was given to Captain Henry Roberts, one of Cook's men during his second and third

voyage; George Vancouver, who in 1773, in the capacity of a midshipman, was with Cook in the *Resolution* at Dusky Sound, was appointed second in command. A vessel of 340 tons, built on the Thames, was purchased, named the *Discovery*, and sent to Deptford to be fitted out, and in addition to her it was intended that the *Gorgon* should go to Sydney and thence be sent with the nucleus of a settlement to be established in North America.⁴

While the above-named officers were preparing for their new commission, trouble cropped up. The Spaniards and the British had come into conflict with one another at Nootka Sound, on the coast of North West America, and British vessels and factories had been seized by the ships of Spain. Negotiations between London and Madrid failed to settle matters and preparations were made to employ force. The pacific employment of the *Discovery* was postponed, and the officers repaired to their several war stations. The dispute was however amicably settled (Spain withdrawing from her position), and a vessel was ordered to Nootka Sound to formally receive everything back, and at the same time to survey the coast line accurately. Captain George Vancouver was appointed to the command of this expedition; the *Discovery*, now lying ready, was put into commission, and the *Chatham*, of 135 tons, ordered to accompany her. On board the *Discovery* were 100 officers and men, on the *Chatham*, 45.

In the plan of the expedition as outlined by Lord Grenville to the Lords of the Admiralty,⁵ and in the first set of instructions given to Vancouver later on, no mention was made of New Zealand. Subsequent communications were however sent him, dated 20th August, 1791, by a third vessel. Vancouver was informed that this despatch boat, was, after leaving him, to proceed from the Sandwich Islands to the New South Wales Settlement, and on her way down to touch at New Zealand, and try to secure two natives to teach the Port Jackson settlers how to prepare the flax fibre. No instructions were given Vancouver himself to call at New Zealand, and his visit to Dusky shows the importance to the navigators of that day, of this well surveyed harbour, and is another tribute to Cook's farsightedness.

Vancouver sailed via the Cape of Good Hope and King George Sound, and called at both places. When south of Tasmania he found his men in want of provisions only to be got on shore, and not knowing of any place so easily within reach where they, together with timber for planks, spars, tent, poles, &c., could be procured with so much facility, he made choice of Dusky Bay. Cook, when on a visit to New Zealand in 1773, when all the adjoining lands were unsettled, had selected Dusky as the best spot to recruit his expedition at, and here we have Vancouver, in 1791, in the face of a new settlement three years established at Sydney, and not on a voyage to New Zealand at all, but bound for the Sandwich Islands, finding Dusky the best port of call.

There is no doubt that had steam not revolutionized marine navigation, by making it independent of the elements, and the Suez Canal not diverted it from Nature's route, the south coast of New Zealand would have been on the line of a great trade highway. Cook saw this and surveyed the only port he knew—Dusky. Vancouver realized it and refitted within its confines. The truth of this was exemplified as recently as 1904. The Falls of Halladale sailed from Liverpool to San Francisco, via Cape Horn. Unable to round the Stormy Cape, she sailed east, via the Cape of Good Hope. Buffeted and storm tossed for 162 days she found herself in Foveaux Strait, not eighty miles from COOK'S HAVEN and VANCOUVER'S SANATORIUM. Without such examples of stray sailing vessels making Stewart Island, we might have laughed at Cook's theory of a port being required in the south of New Zealand for the trade of the world. But with these examples before us we acknowledge the genius which told the world, before ever vessels appeared in these seas, where sailing ships would require a haven to recruit. That he could not foresee the coming of steam, detracts nothing from the accuracy of his generalization.

On 2nd November 1791, Vancouver sighted the south coast of New Zealand, and by evening the Discovery and the Chatham were anchored in the arm leading into Facile Harbour, the spot recommended by Cook from the experience of his residence in the sound.^o

Vancouver's first few days' stay was celebrated by rather an exciting experience. Though with Cook at Dusky in 1773, he had not been in Facile Harbour, so he thought it necessary to take Broughton, the captain of the Chatham, to fix sites for their several ships and shore occupations. This had no sooner been done, than the captains were alarmed at hearing two guns discharged from the vessels. Hastily getting into their boat they found that Vancouver's vessel, the Discovery, was on the move; and by the time they reached her, she was abreast of the entrance to the sound. Having got on board, an attempt was made to regain Facile Harbour, but about five o'clock in the afternoon a violent gust created disorder aloft, and nothing remained but to make for Anchor Island Harbour, to leeward of them, where they anchored the vessel and moored her to the trees ashore. All night the gale raged, and the two captains, not knowing how things were with the Chatham, spent an anxious time on board the Discovery. On the morning of the fourth, they rowed over to the Petrel Islands, and there to their great joy, saw their consort riding safely at anchor, but as she was to windward, and the gale prevented them from communicating, Captain Broughton was compelled to return to the Discovery. The gale continued, and increased in violence. Vancouver thus describes it, at its height: "By two on Sunday morning, the 5th, the gale increased to so violent a storm, as to oblige us to lower the top-masts close down to the cap, and to get our yards and the top-gallant masts fore and aft on the deck. From five o'clock until eight, it blew a perfect hurricane, with torrents of rain. We were happily in a very snug, secure little harbour, yet the sea beat with such unremitting violence against the rocks immediately astern of us, that had either the anchor or cable given way, little else but inevitable destruction must have followed. About nine a most tremendous gust caused the ship to roll excessively; this was immediately followed by a flash of lightning, and a heavy crash of thunder, which broke up the storm; and in the space of half an hour, the weather might be considered, comparatively speaking, as fair and pleasant." On the completion of the storm the Chatham worked into Facile Harbour, and was

the first vessel to ride at anchor there. The *Discovery* remained in Anchor Island Harbour, as she had been almost completely dismantled to enable her to ride out the storm.

No time was lost in getting things refitted. Vancouver did not intend to make as long a stay as Cook had done, and parties were at once got out cutting wood for fuel, and timber for spars and planks, brewing rimu beer, repairing sails, rigging and casks. A boat with four men was constantly employed fishing, and everyone was hard at work. Noting the climatic conditions, Vancouver learnt that north-west weather in the bay generally meant a storm, whilst south or west meant pleasant working.

There was only one part of the sound that Cook did not explore in 1773—the upper part of the northern arm. On the 13th, 14th, and 15th November this uncharted portion was visited by Vancouver, found to divide into two and surveyed. Cook had called the unknown portion "Nobody Knows What." Vancouver called it "Somebody Knows What." Fortunately, neither name has been retained; the arm explored by Vancouver has received the name Vancouver Arm, that by Broughton, Broughton Arm; while to the point called by Cook, Apparent Island, the name Chatham Point has been given, after Broughton's vessel; and to the south point the name Discovery Point after Vancouver's. Cook was too much pressed for time to survey this sound and he ventured the opinion that it might communicate with Doubtful Harbour although he admitted that appearances were against this theory.⁷ Strange how a theory however erroneous once advanced dies hard. This opinion of Cook's, hazarded in 1773, was disproved by Vancouver in 1791, and the discovery made known to the world, but in spite of that, we find maps published as late as 1841, showing an uncertain channel named Mac's Passage, connecting the two sounds.⁸

During the period they were engaged in survey work, a continual look out was kept for signs of Maoris; Cascade Cove and Indian Cove, places where families lived during Cook's visit 18 years before, were visited, but at neither of these places was any trace found, nor any circumstance that in the least indicated the country being then inhabited. The sole

signs of human habitation observed by Vancouver were one or two miserable huts in the neighbourhood of Facile Harbour, and even these had not the appearance of having been lately occupied. Menzies, the botanist of the expedition, describes these huts as built in an obtuse form, about four feet in height and six in diameter at the bottom; composed of slender sticks, crossing each other and fastened together with twigs; closely thatched over with grass and fern; and as having marks of a fireplace in front of the door. Cook's surmise that the inhabitants of the bay led a wandering life received verification during this visit.

Every entry in his journal shows Vancouver to have been a commander, careful, conscientious, and above all things loyal to his old master. Not having been in Facile Harbour before, he must inspect it before entering. Cook said that the first thing to do on anchoring was to attend to the health of the men. This was done. Cook had left the north arm unexplored. This must be attended to now and completed. Cook had taken a great interest in the natives. Although 18 years had passed away, they were now looked for and information gleaned about them. Cook had recommended Facile Harbour. Vancouver's experience showed the difficulty of making this harbour sometimes, and the advantage of Anchor Island Harbour as a standby. To give this knowledge in nautical form to the shipping world, the 16th November was spent surveying the harbour, making out sailing directions, and naming some of the islands about it. In addition to the survey of Anchor Island Harbour by Vancouver, Broughton, whose vessel remained in Facile Harbour throughout the stay, made a survey of that Harbour, and it is published in some editions of the narrative of the voyage. Vancouver for his chart took as a basis that of Cook adding to it his own discoveries, and such trifling additions as in the course of his observations he had been able to make.

Some of Vancouver's records however, show great differences between him and Cook. It is difficult to conceive Cook making the mistake of having the captains of the two vessels ashore together, and out of sight, while one of the ships might, unknown, be drifting seaward. Again Cook was a

great sportsman. Each seal he saw was noted in his journal, and each fowl was discussed with all the zeal of one anxious to inspect it scientifically as well as at the mess table. Killing seals or shooting ducks was always an enjoyable recreation with Cook, and there is no doubt that his love of sport made him a very close observer of the habits of animals. His list of names in Dusky shows his weakness; Shag River, Seal Rock, Seal, Curlew, Shagg, Petrel, Pigeon and Parrot Isles; Cormorant, Goose, Duck, Wood Hen, and Sportsman's Coves. Vancouver, on the other hand, never mentions seals in the bay, nor does he refer to their absence; he merely states that some wild fowl were procured, though they were found in by no means such numbers as in 1773, owing probably, to the difference in the seasons. He had made a search for the geese placed there by Cook, but seeing none, attributed it to the same cause. Speaking on this question of a season for the birds, Mr Henry, caretaker at Resolution Island, mentions visiting the Petrel Islands at the same period of the year that Cook did and finding no petrels,⁹ but he does not say whether he visited the islands during the day or at night, and Forster records the fact that the petrel was not to be seen during the day.¹⁰ Mr Henry states however, that birds visiting the sound appear to be very uncertain in their time of coming.¹¹

A word on the subject of the name Anchor Island Harbour may not be out of place. Any name given by Cook must always be treated with respect, but of all those given in Dusky there appears less significance in this than in any other. The dropping of the anchor for the first time is properly recorded in the name Anchor Island, and Anchor Island Harbour was apparently given because nothing of moment occurred to give it a name, and it was described as the harbour of Anchor Island. With the visit of Vancouver however, all this has been altered. Beyond the day or two in Facile Harbour or leading up thereto, the insignificant harbour of Cook is the one harbour in Australasia in which Vancouver anchored his vessel. With such a distinguished event to its credit Captain Bollons of the Government s.s. *Hinemoa* suggests that it ought to be known as Vancouver Harbour—an

admirable suggestion. With this vast area now a National Park and the certainty of an awakened interest in the history of the Sounds, it is to be hoped that some day will see a revision of the local names, a restitution of old names wrongly removed, and a substitution for old ones wrongly retained, so that the name of every cove and headland, may be the key to its historical associations.

On Sunday, 20th November, the Discovery sailed out of Anchor Island Harbour and took up a position alongside the Chatham in Facile Harbour. Monday was spent completing their cargo of wood and water, and rimu and manuka for brewing beer; and at noon they sailed, adding another tribute to Dusky as a marine sanatorium. "Thus we quitted Dusky bay, greatly indebted to its most excellent refreshments, and the salubrity of its air. The good effects of a plentiful supply of fish and spruce beer, were evident in the appearance of every individual in our little society. The health of our convalescents was perfectly re-established, and excepting one with a chronic complaint, and two wounded by cuts in their legs, we had not a man on the surgeon's list; though, on the most trifling occasion of indisposition, no person was ever permitted to attend his duty."

The salubrity of the air is characteristic of the whole of these sounds, and of the mountain tracks. The opinion of those who have repeatedly traversed the Te Anau-Milford track is that the air is absolutely germless, and that no ill effects follow exposure to the elements there.

Cook when he discovered Dusky had sailed north, and when in 1773 he surveyed it, he went over the same course. Vancouver's expedition was the first one which visited Dusky, and after leaving it made for the south. Here was an opportunity of ending the uncertainty which Cook had left in the coast line where now is Foveaux Strait. And Vancouver might have been the discoverer of the strait, but for a heavy sea coming up from the south-west, immediately he got clear of the land. The storm which followed, rivalled the celebrated storm experienced in Dusky, and the means to be taken for safety, precluded all possibility of examining the coast line. In this storm the two vessels separated and did not

sight each other again until they met at Otaheite on 30th December. Both vessels on parting adopted the same tactics, and kept well away to the south to get round the land, and clear the Traps. In doing so they both stumbled, quite unexpectedly, upon the same group of islands. Vancouver in the *Discovery* sighted them at eleven o'clock, and called them the Snares, "composed of a cluster of seven craggy islands." Broughton in the *Chatham* sighted them at two o'clock in the afternoon, "a cluster of small islets and rocks," and called them Knight's Island, after Captain Knight of the navy. The *Chatham* actually sailed in between them, and closely observed their position and outline. "In this passage we had a confused irregular swell, with the appearance of broken water; large bunches of seaweed were observed, and the whole surface was covered with birds of a blackish colour." When the two commanders afterwards met and compared notes, Vancouver having discovered the islands first, the name Snares was retained, but Broughton having sailed in between them, their relative situation as laid down by him, was accepted as against Vancouver's.

It was at this stage that the Chatham Islands were discovered. After sailing between the Snares, Broughton made for Otaheite, and on 29th November fell in with an island which he named after his vessel, Chatham Island.

Mr Archibald Menzies has already been mentioned and we are indebted to him for by far the most pleasant account of Vancouver's stay at Dusky; but to the present time the author believes the record left by him has never been published. Menzies was a great personal friend of Banks and doubtless owed his position to that gentleman. In the correspondence between the two we can see that Vancouver did not always get on well with his subordinates, but the manuscript, which Menzies evidently meant for publication, contains no references to friction with the commander, and it is a matter of sincere regret that such an interesting narrative is not available for general perusal. At present it is to be found in the manuscript collection of the British Museum, apparently ready, for the printer. If Vancouver was no sportsman, the same cannot be said of Menzies, who, with the officers of

the Chatham, went out on expeditions lasting over several days, but not associated with very much success. The new and uncommon plants gathered were added to the King's collection at Kew.

Broughton's party, as they returned from the exploration of the northern arm, visited the site of Cook's old camp on the shores of Pickersgill Harbour, and found that in the garden had grown up a dense covering of brushwood and fern, which completely obliterated all sign of the old clearing and only the fact that its position was recorded and described, enabled the spot to be identified. It is little wonder that now, after 133 years, some cannot make themselves believe that Observation Point is the site, and that the old stumps there are the visible signs of Cook's clearing. So much of Menzies' journal as relates to New Zealand is to be found in Appendix C.

We have now concluded the visits to, and explorations of, southern New Zealand, by what one may call the great British navigators Cook and Vancouver, and it will be matter of interest to notice the names which were given by these men to the places seen and visited. Cook's first visit gives us the coast names, Traps, South Cape, Solander Island, Dusky Bay, Point Five Fingers, West Cape, and Doubtful Harbour. His second visit named the Dusky Bay headlands and coves. It gives us the sporting names already mentioned, and amongst others, Anchor, Resolution, Long, Cooper and Indian Islands; Pickersgill, Facile, Little, and Anchor Island Harbours; Indian, Cascade, Luncheon, and Detention Coves. The names left by Vancouver's visit are very few, about the only remaining one being the Snares. Vancouver's principal work was to complete the survey of the sound and give accurate charts of Facile and Anchor Island Harbours.

REFERENCES.

CHAPTER III.

- | | |
|--|--|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Bligh's Voyage of the Bounty (1792), p. 55. 2. Hunter's Historical Journal (1793) pp. 90 to 95. 3. Introduction to Vancouver's Voyage (1801). 4. H.R., Vol. I. pt. 2, p. 312. 5. H.R., Vol. I. pt. 2, p. 451. 6. Vancouver's Voyage, from which has been taken the | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> narrative of V's. doings on the coast of N.Z., Vol. I., pp. 184 to 206 and 224 to 230. 7. Cook's Second Voyage. 8. Wyld's Map of N.Z., 1841. 9. Appendix to Journals of H. of E., 1901, C. 1, p. 133. 10. Forster's Voyage, p. 153. 11. Appendix to Journals of H. of E., 1902, C. 1 p. 84. |
|--|--|

CHAPTER IV.

FIRST SEALING GANG, 1792.

The first recorded proposal for a vessel to visit Dusky for trade purposes pure and simple, is referred to by Collins, the New South Wales historian. Mr Eber Bunker, the master of the *William and Ann*, a vessel of 376 tons, "had some thoughts of touching at Dusky Bay in New Zealand" and "Governor King finding after trying every process that came within his knowledge for preparing and dressing the flax plant, that unless some other means were devised, it never would be brought to the perfection necessary to make the canvas produced from it an object of importance, either as an article of clothing for the convicts or for maritime purposes, proposed to the master of the *William and Ann* to procure him two natives of that country, if they could be prevailed on to embark with him, and promised him £100 if he succeeded, hoping from their perfect knowledge of the flax plant, and the process necessary to manufacture it into cloth, that he might one day render it a valuable and beneficial article to his colony; but Captain Bunker had never returned."¹

The date of this arrangement with King may be taken to be about November 1791, as the *William and Ann* arrived in Sydney with convicts on 28th August 1791, and sailed for the whale fishery on 22nd November.² Whether Bunker ever visited Dusky is not stated; he does not appear, however, to have applied for the reward promised, and disappeared from Australian history until June 1799 when he brought out the *Albion*, belonging to Messrs *Campion*, in the then record time of three months and fifteen days. The *Albion* was a whaler and "was intended to give the whale fishing upon the coast a complete and fair trial."³

The flax dressers that the Governor was so anxious to obtain, were afterwards procured by the *Daedalus* and landed at Norfolk Island.

The first attempt to establish trade between New South Wales and Dusky, had been resultless.

The next man to move in this direction was Mr William Raven the master of the *Britannia*. This vessel was of 300 tons burden, and, like the *William and Ann*, had come out to Australia with convicts; she was owned by the well known firm of Messrs Enderby, and later on took a leading part in the whaling trade. Told in Captain Raven's own words, his plan was as follows: "My first plan after discharging the cargo I brought from England to Port Jackson, was to have gone to Dusky Bay to procure seals' skins for the China market."⁴ He accordingly made a start for Dusky on the thirtieth day of September 1792, armed with a three years trade license from the East India Company;⁵ but before getting clear of Sydney, his plans were entirely altered, his trip to Dusky was postponed, and his voyage to China cancelled. The reason for this change in his programme, as it accounts for the lengthened stay of the first sealing gang at Dusky, is here narrated.

Major Grose, who commanded the soldiers in Sydney, finding that the men under his command were without shoes and had none other than the miserable rations issued from the Government stores, called a meeting of his captains to consider the position. After discussion it was decided to charter the *Britannia*, then ready to sail to Dusky, and send her to the Cape of Good Hope for provisions. Governor Phillip when informed of the position of matters and asked for a protection for the ship during her voyage, pointed out that the charter of the East India Company might come into conflict with their proceedings. At the same time he defended the Government ration, deprecated private action, and offered to write to the Cape of Good Hope and ask the authorities to forward such stores as the officers might order to be purchased.⁶ No doubt the Governor realised his own inability to prevent the officers trading in the manner proposed, and ultimately he informed them that he could take no official step in the matter. The officers completed their charter for the sum of £2000 for the vessel, and eleven shares of £200 each were subscribed to purchase the stock and other

articles. The *Britannia* was well calculated for carrying cattle, having a very good between-deck, and military artificers were immediately employed to fit her with stalls proper for the reception and accommodation of cows, horses, &c. A quantity of hay was put on board, sufficient to lessen considerably the outlay for that article at the Cape. She was ready for sea by the middle of October and sailed for the Cape of Good Hope on the twenty-third, leave being granted to stop at Dusky and station a gang there to collect seal skins for the China market.

On Saturday 3rd November, the snowy summits of New Zealand were sighted, but the weather proved so unfavourable that it was not until the following Tuesday that the *Britannia* was moored in Facile Harbour. Raven at once set about an examination of the sound, visiting in succession Cormorant Cove, the Seal Islands and Pickersgill Harbour, and as a result of this survey decided to put his sealing gang ashore. At both Facile and Pickersgill Harbours were the signs of trees newly cut down, probably by Vancouver's men in the previous year, and there were still visible the logs at Cook's clearing.

On Monday 12th a party set out for Breaksea and when approaching the opening of the sea, smoke was seen issuing from a native hut in a small cove on the left hand side. On the landing of a boat's crew, the natives fled to the woods and Raven contented himself by leaving an axe and two knives, but nothing could induce the Maoris to return. The spot finally decided on for the location of the sealing gang was Luncheon Cove on Anchor Island, and on 14th September work was commenced by Raven and the construction of the sealers' huts commenced. All the ship's hands were employed to make the sealers' quarters comfortable, and by the latter end of November they had completed a dwelling house, 40 ft. long, 18 ft. broad, and 15 ft. high. Provisions and stores for twelve months were landed. The second mate, a carpenter, and a party of men, were left at the bay, and to make provision against the danger of the non-return of the *Britannia*, ironwork, cordage, and sails for boat-building were included in their equipment, and the men were directed to commence

the building of a small craft, sufficiently large to carry them to a friendly port.⁴ Thus was the first sealing gang stationed on the New Zealand coast; and Luncheon Cove, Dusky, claims the honor of being the spot. Wm. Leith, second mate of the *Britannia*, had the distinction of being its commander.

On 1st December, 1792, the *Britannia* left for the Cape of Good Hope via the south of New Zealand, leaving this small band of intrepid spirits on the wild southern coast of a veritable unknown region, cut off from all communication with civilization, save such as they could establish for themselves by the construction of a vessel from timber growing in the virgin forest. And they had volunteered for the work! No wonder our nation has planted her people in and carried her trade and language to the uttermost parts of the earth.

The day after leaving Dusky, Raven sighted the Snares and not knowing of their prior discovery by Vancouver, called them Sunday Islands.⁵ It was not until he returned to Sydney and met Vancouver's men that the fact of the prior discovery was ascertained. This was the first time these islands are known to have been sighted after the day of their discovery.

While this sealing gang was at Dusky, Malaspina with two Spanish discovery corvettes attempted to enter Breaksea Sound, but failed and made for Sydney. Neither the Spaniard nor the sealing gang, was aware of each others proximity.

When Raven, in accordance with his charter, landed his cargo from the Cape of Good Hope seven months had elapsed since he had seen his men, and naturally his first anxiety was to have them relieved. The necessity for further supplies at Sydney however, was very great, and again the *Britannia* was chartered, this time to proceed to India. Grose, who had command of the soldiers when Raven got his first charter, was now Lieutenant-Governor, and doubtless only too willing to assist Raven in every possible way. He met Raven's anxiety about his men by granting leave in the charter-party to call at Dusky. He did more; he ordered the newly built colonial schooner the *Francis*, a vessel of 41 tons, to accompany Raven. The *Francis*, it is interesting to know, was the first vessel completed in Sydney. She had been

brought in frame from England in the Pitt, and was called the Francis because launched on the birthday of Francis, the son of the Lieutenant-Governor. The foremast of the vessel was a red pine spar brought from Dusky by Raven^o by whom also she was launched and fitted out. Her first voyage was, by direction of the Lieutenant-Governor, to Dusky and she was commanded by William House, late boatswain of the Discovery, who had been with Vancouver in Dusky in 1791, and who, having been invalided, had recovered sufficiently to accept Government employment in Sydney. An official reason had, of course, to be given for the Francis going to Dusky, and in the Lieutenant-Governor's own words it was stated that "the Francis was to sail for Dusky Bay in New Zealand in order to ascertain how far that place, which, I understand, possesses all the advantages of Norfolk Island, with the addition of a safe harbour and seal-fishery, may tend to the benefit of his Majesty's service, as connected with these settlements."¹⁰

It should be noted that two months before this, in April 1793, the results of Vancouver's visits to the south of New Zealand were made known by the arrival of the Daedalus, store ship, under the command of one of Vancouver's men—Lieutenant Hanson of the Chatham. He brought copies of Vancouver's new maps showing the Snares and the Chatham Islands.¹¹ It was by this vessel that House reached Sydney. From Lieutenant Hanson of the Daedalus and William House, now appointed master of the Francis, the Lieutenant-Governor would doubtless obtain information about Dusky and its capabilities. The favourable reports of these men suggested to Grose the possibilities of opening up a lucrative trade, and justified the sending of the colonial schooner. The dates suggest that the first sealing gang was stationed at Dusky on Cook's information and the Francis sent to report on Vancouver's.

The two vessels sailed from Sydney on 8th September, 1793, the Britannia reaching Dusky on the twenty-seventh of that month, while the Francis, having been blown off the coast four times, did not make the bay until the twelfth of October.⁴

On the first visit, Raven had anchored in Facile Harbour, the choice of Cook; on the occasion of the second, in Anchor Island Harbour, the refuge of Vancouver. The moment the vessel came to an anchor, Leith and a party of five came on board and reported that all were well. Everything was found to be snug. As a sanatorium it had sustained its reputation acquired from Cook and Vancouver. Raven tells us the health of the men, with one exception, had been good, and that exception was attributable to illness acquired before leaving Sydney, and the fact kept from the knowledge of the captain. This case however, was on a fair way to recovery. On the other hand it had not turned out a pronounced success as a sealing station; the ten months that Raven was away had only yielded 4500 sealskins, but there were circumstances to account for this, and as the party had used every exertion, and procured as many as possible, Captain Raven was satisfied.*

The boat built during the gang's stay was, as far as the writer can ascertain, the first vessel built in Australasia, purely from Australasian timber. The Francis, the first vessel built in Sydney, came out from England in frame, in one of the ships, and was only *completed* with Australian timber. The building of the Dusky craft is an Australasian historical event, and justifies us here in placing upon record the particulars as given by Raven himself. "What excited my admiration was the progress they had made in constructing a vessel of the following dimensions:—40ft. 6in. keel, 35ft. length upon deck, 16ft. 10in. extreme breadth, and 12 feet hold. She is skined, ceiled, and decked, and with the work of three or four men for one day would be ready for caulking. Her frame knees and crooked pieces are cut from timber growing to the mould. She is planked, decked, and ceiled with the spruce fir, which in the opinion of the carpenter is very little inferior to English oak.

"Her construction is such that she will carry more by one half than she measures, and I am confident will sail well. The carpenter has great merit, and has built her with that strength and neatness which few shipwrights belonging to the merchant service are capable of performing."¹³

The Francis had not been seen since the afternoon of 22nd September, and it was now the 28th and there was still no appearance of her. Under the terms of his charter Raven was allowed to stay only fourteen days at Dusky, and, all being anxious to get away, sails were repaired, the balance of the stores got on board, some timber secured for planking and on Thursday, 9th October, Luncheon Cove and the unfinished craft of some 70 tons abandoned. Stress of weather compelled Raven to make for Facile Harbour, where several days were spent in completing preparations, in visiting various spots ashore, and in inspecting some native huts. It was fortunate that events turned out as they did, because with the somewhat prolonged stay in Facile Harbour awaiting suitable weather to leave, a boat was sent back to Luncheon Cove for no other purpose than to bring away one of the domestic cats which had been left by the last boat. To the great joy of the boat's crew they found the Francis at anchor there. She had reached the spot on the previous day, after being driven as far south as the Snares.

The condition of the tender was so bad that without repairs she could not have ventured to sea again, and the following day she was taken round to Facile Harbour, where lay the Britannia, and all hands were set to work to effect those necessary. She had been rigged as a sloop, and her non success in making the coast of New Zealand being attributed to that, she was converted into a schooner under which rig she left on Sunday 21st October for Port Jackson, the Britannia sailing the same day for Norfolk Island.

During the stay of the sealing gang, the weather had been very bad—severe gales from the north-west and heavy rains often impeding the fishery and other labour; a shock of earthquake too, had been felt.^{1 3}

Before the site of the shipbuilding yard in Dusky was known, Mr Henry, caretaker of Resolution Island, after carefully investigating different localities, indicated Luncheon Cove as the spot, and informed the present author of the fact. Now that the locality has been placed beyond doubt through the discovery by the writer of the Britannia's log, this opportunity is taken of testifying to the accuracy of Mr Henry's

researches. A reprint of the log will be found in Appendix D.

The *Britannia*, after leaving Dusky, called at Norfolk Island and took Governor King, with the two Maori flax-dressers, back to New Zealand.

When House reached Sydney with his vessel, he reported to Grose generally on the result of his visit, but he cannot be said to have given a very favourable report. Collins the historian remarks regarding it. "Nothing appeared by this information from Dusky Bay, that held out encouragement to the Government of Port Jackson to make use of that part of New Zealand. So little was said of the soil, or face of the country, that no judgment could be formed of any advantages which might be expected from attempting to cultivate it; a seal fishery there was not an object with it at present, and besides, it did not seem to promise much. The time the schooner was absent however, was not wholly misapplied, it proving the event of having, as Mr Raven had done, left 12 people for 10 months on so populous an island, the inhabitants whereof were known to be savages, fierce and warlike. It might certainly be supposed that these people were unacquainted with the circumstances of there being any strangers near them, and that consequently they had not any communication with the few miserable beings who were occasionally seen in the coves of Dusky Bay."¹⁴

This was the impression gathered from House's report. Probably the four times he was driven off the coast and the hard work he had been put to altering the rig of his vessel had more to do in producing an unfavourable report than anything he saw. Others held an entirely different opinion. An officer at Norfolk Island writing in 1793 to a friend in Lincoln, England, and speaking of Raven's visit to Dusky, says: "They speak so highly of the country, for the goodness of the soil and the fine timber with which it abounds, that it may be an object to the Government in course of time."¹⁵

The *Britannia*, on her road to India, called as we have seen at Norfolk Island, and from this place on 2nd November Raven penned his official report to Lieutenant-Governor King, from which the following is extracted, outside the ordinary narrative of events.¹⁶

“There are various kinds of timber in Dusky Bay, but that which is principally fit for shipbuilding is the spruce fir, which may be cut along the shore in any quantity or size for the construction of vessels from a first rate to a small wherry.

“Fresh provisions are readily procured. Coal-fish are innumerable, and may be caught with hooks and lines in almost any quantity, and have this peculiar excellence—my people ate them without bread for many months twice a day, and were fond of them to the last. Ducks, wood-hens, and various fowls they had procured in great plenty. Tea they made from the spruce and tea trees. The animals I left had fed themselves on what they found in the woods, and were exceedingly fat and prolific.

“The rains here are not attended with that inconvenience experienced in other climates. Colds or rheumatisms my people were never afflicted with. The winter was mild, and in general they had better weather than in the summer months. The flax grows here in great abundance, from which our people made fishing-lines and kellick-ropes.

“Before I conclude, I beg leave to observe that we saw three natives the first time we were in Dusky Bay, but, notwithstanding our giving them all the signs of friendship and hospitality we could not procure any intercourse. They took to the woods, and we never saw them again, nor did Mr Leith see any inhabitants during his residence at Poenamoo. He once found a fire but the natives had fled at his approach.”

Collins adds. “The natives had not molested the Britannia’s people; indeed, they seemed rather to abhor them, for, if by chance in their excursion’s (which were very few), they visited and left anything in a hut, they were sure, on their next visit, to find the hut pulled down, and their present remaining where it was left. Some little articles which Mr Raven had himself placed in a hut, when he touched there to establish his little fishery, were found three months after by his people in the same spot.¹⁶

Captain Raven had intended procuring “seal skins for the China market.” This was at the very earliest dawn of the Australasian seal trade. Two vessels had sailed southwards from Sydney in quest of seals, but returned in November,

1791, unsuccessful.¹⁷ Governor Phillip expressed concern for the prospects of trade in 1792, and in March of that year reported that "he feared the fur trade of the north-west coast of America, and the trade among the islands, was too great an object to those employed in it to allow of them giving the Australian trade a trial."¹⁸ The Russians had long before had an extensive fur trade with China, going overland from Siberia. Governor Phillip mentions the north-west coast trade of America. That trade, in the hands of Americans and British, went largely to China. The result was that when a fur industry arose in Australasian waters, China appeared the natural market for the produce. In due time the market became flooded to such an extent that the price of a fine seal fur was only four shillings to five shillings and sixpence, a non-paying price. Afterwards, about the commencement of the new century the trade shifted to England, where the fur began to be used for making felt for hats.¹⁹ Grose reports the arrival in Sydney on December, 1792, of the American ship *Hope* with a cargo of sealskins for the China market.

The early whaling trade was pelagic and can scarcely be claimed as a trade by any country, while the sealing trade was essentially coastal and local. Beyond a spar or two put on board a stray vessel in the North Island, the Dusky Bay sealing of Captain Raven in 1792-93 was the first trade with New Zealand, and that was destined to be a China trade, and not one with the Mother Country. References to the China trade crop up everywhere in the old records. Even the mails sometimes went from Australia via China, the vessels arriving from England being under charter to the East India Company to go from Australia to China and take thence a cargo of tea to England.²⁰

We saw that when Raven set out for Dusky in the first instance, he was armed with a three years trade license from the East India Company. It was under this authority that he was able to kill seals on the New Zealand coast, as trade in the East was a monopoly of the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies. When in 1795 whaling was found to be a profitable employment in the newly

explored waters, legislation was passed fixing limits for the Southern Whale Fishery; by that legislation the vessels could not proceed further east than 51 degrees of east longitude. This still kept New Zealand and the New Zealand sealing under the domain of the East India Company and doubtless encouraged the seal trade to go to China, rather than to England. In 1797 the Board of Trade considered a petition of the merchant adventures of the Southern Whale Fishery for an extension of their limits, owing to the war, and the application was referred to the East India Company for favourable consideration.¹ In 1798 extended limits were granted by legislation.

In 1801, Messrs Enderby and Messrs Champion on behalf of merchants, secured a further extension which opened the whole Southern Ocean for fishing, provided the vessels delivered their journals to the Court of the Directors of the East India Company on their return to England.² Thus the New Zealand seal trade became free to British subjects, as to foreigners, although as a concession granted by a private company.

REFERENCES.

CHAPTER IV.

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1. Collins (1798), Vol. I., p. 235. | 12. H.R., Vol. II., p. 96. |
| 2. Collins, Vol. II., p. 317. | 13. Appendix D. |
| 3. Collins, Vol. II., p. 215. | 14. Collins, Vol. I., p. 322. |
| 4. H.R., Vol. II., p. 94. | 15. H.R., Vol. II., p. 810. |
| 5. Collins, Vol. I., p. 236. | 16. Collins, Vol. I., p. 322. |
| 6. H.R., Vol. I. pt. 2, p. 652. | 17. H.R., Vol. I., pt. 2, p. 556. |
| 7. Collins, Vol. I., p. 236. | 18. H.R., Vol. I., pt. 2, p. 618. |
| 8. Appendix D. | 19. H.R., Vol. V., p. 383. |
| 9. Collins, Vol. I., p. 301. | 20. H.R., Vol. II., p. 514. |
| 10. H.R., Vol. II., p. 63. | 21. H.R., Vol. III., p. 335. |
| 11. H.R., Vol. I., pt. 2, p. 667. | 22. H.R., Vol. IV., p. 630. |

CHAPTER V.

SPANIARDS VISIT DOUBTFUL, 1793.

Few voyages in history are wrapped in such mystery as that of the Spanish corvettes under Malaspina, which in 1789 sailed from Cadiz on a five years' tour of the World. Probably it is because the account of their voyage was never translated into English, but still the history of other voyages though narrated in foreign tongues are well known and referred to. The Historical Records of New South Wales of 1793 give a despatch of Governor Grose to the Rt. Hon. Hendry Dundas, describing the arrival and departure from Sydney of this expedition. In addition to this the New South Wales historian unearthed a manuscript of Sir Joseph Banks, in the British Museum containing the following words:—" Arrived at Cadiz, 21st September, 1794, Captains Malaspina and Bustamante, and Galleano and St. Cevallos, commanders of the corvettes Descubierta and Atrevida, and the galera Sutil. These vessels were built at the Carraccas, purposely for discoveries for the improvement of knowledge, and especially navigation, and sailed from Cadiz, 30th July, 1789. They have constructed charts and descriptions of the coasts of America and the adjacent islands, from the River of Plate to Cape Horne on one side, and from that cape on the other to the extremity of North America. On the N.W. coast of America, 59°, 60° and 61° latitude, they sought in vain for the strait alleged to have been discovered by the Spaniard, Ferrer de Maldonado, which they proved to have no existence. They despatched in the beginning of 1792 the galeras Sutil and Mexicana, under the command of Captains Galeano and Valdes, who were directed to act in consort with the English captain, Vancouver, for the examination of the immense archipelago known under the denomination of Admiral de Fuente and John de Fuca. The greater part of 1792 was

occupied by the corvettes in the examination of the Marianas and Philipinas Islands, and Macao, on the Coast of China. They passed repeatedly between Mindanao and Morintay (Moralay); they coasted New Guinea; they made it under the Line to the eastward 500 leagues; they passed amongst the New Hebrides; visited New Zealand at Dusky Bay, New Holland at Port Jackson, and the archipelago of the Friendly Islands at the islands of Babau (Vavau), not seen by any antecedent navigators who had passed these parts. They ultimately traversed unfrequented parts of the South Sea, on the way to Callão de Lima, where they arrived in June 1793. From that port they touched at Conception, in Chili, and the corvettes separating to increase the operations of discovery, coasted Terra de Fuego, coast of Patagonia, and the east part of the Malouines (Falkland Islands), joining at Rio de Plata: at Montevideo they joined the frigate *Sta Gestridis*, and several register ships, which they accompanied to Cadiz. In this voyage botany, mineralogy, and hydrography has received much and valuable improvement. The experiments on gravitation have been repeated in both hemispheres, and in various latitudes, which will conduce to the determination of the figure of the earth, and will assist in establishing a universal measure. They have studied the civil and political state of the countries they have visited. They have collected monuments to illustrate the history of their emigrations, as well as the progress of their civilization from their primitive ignorance. Their discoveries have not cost a single tear to the human race, and they have only lost three or four of the crew in each vessel. Their observations are to be published as soon as possible." ¹ The New South Wales historian, when compiling the Records, says about the publication of their observations: "Apparently this was never done. The authorities of the British Museum report that "they have no knowledge of such a work having been published." As a matter of fact the published narrative of the expedition had gone through two editions, the second, a copy of which, dated Madrid 1885, is in the present author's possession.

Stated shortly, their movements in these latitudes were as follows: Passing Norfolk Island en route from the Philli-

pires they sailed south to Dusky which they sighted on 25th February, 1793, and at midday were at Doubtful. A boat's crew sailed into Doubtful while the vessels kept off the entrance. The next morning they attempted unsuccessfully to enter Dusky, but could not get past Breaksea Island, and the weather becoming stormy they sailed for Sydney. Had they succeeded in entering Dusky, as we saw, they would there have met Captain Raven's sealing gang. After staying a short time at Sydney they sailed eastward, steering well to the north of New Zealand and passing the Kermadecs. Their experiences of a visit to New Zealand will best be told in their own words.*

"On the 21st we found ourselves in latitude 40 deg. longitude 45 deg. 30 min. east of Manila. Dusky Bay lay 100 leagues to the south, and Cape Farewell and Queen Charlotte's Channel 107 leagues to the east.

"A new softness in the air, longer days, and the brilliancy of the stars made these climates much more convenient for navigation than the tropics. Even in this latitude, the favourable east wind still blew, and in measure as we approached the coast we discovered a larger number of aquatic birds, whereas on one side a dense mist obscured the horizon. Consequently although by midday of the 24th being in latitude 44 deg. 34 min. longitude 46 deg. east of Manila, we judged the coast to be near, and although the *Atrevida* signalled land in sight, it was impossible, on account of the mist, to approach nearer, and by nightfall, finding no bottom we steered to the west, the wind at N.N.E. light breezes.

"February 25. These changed to a soft S.S.E. breeze, which sprang up at midnight, clearing away the mist, which obscured the horizon, so that towards 3 o'clock, having taken the altitude to starboard, we found ourselves at break of an exceedingly fine day, within five leagues of the coast, which extended from N.E. to S.S.E.

"By the exact details which Captain Cook, with his usual accuracy, has given of this part of the coast, we were able without difficulty to make out all the points within sight. Five Fingers Point bounded our view to the south, the opening of Dusky Bay was clearly visible, and the course we followed

carried us slightly to leeward of Doubtful Bay, which at 9 o'clock was about two or three miles distant. Having made a careful survey of its surroundings, we put off from the coast, and stood in on the other tack somewhat to windward. It would be difficult to give a more perfect description of the ruggedness and elevation of these coasts than that given by Captain Cook on his first voyage. Two miles from shore we sounded in 100 fathoms without finding bottom, and although the intermediate island showed signs of a fairly abundant vegetation, the entrance of Dusky Bay, and all the coast of the port, closed in with inaccessible mountainous peaks, justified the Captain's accounts, which have caused this port to be looked upon as dangerous to ships leaving it.

"Nevertheless the fact of its latitude being only 45 deg. 13 min., of its being to leeward while the south winds held, and the well known importance of taking advantage of the weather on that coast, and the fine day we were enjoying being, as it were, a warning, were all reasons which prompted us to lose no time in availing ourselves of this favourable opportunity of achieving our purpose. The more so that every change of wind, and the examination of Captain Cook's meteorological diary, made us fear that we should again meet the east winds directly opposed to the entrance of both ports.

"For these reasons, having taken up at mid-day a convenient position to windward, ready to follow any course that circumstances might render advisable, the armed boat of the *Descuvierta*, under the command of Don Felipe Bausa, was sent to reconoitre the interior of the port, and particularly to ascertain the facilities for watering and wooding. She was under orders to return with the utmost despatch. Meanwhile the corvettes, sometimes lying to, sometimes making small boards, kept the same position relative to the entrance.

"The boat did not return until 9 at night, only at the entrance, on the outside of the island, had they touched bottom in 20 and 25 fathoms, gravel, but afterwards in both channels they sounded in 50 fathoms, without finding bottom, nor could they again touch it in all the surroundings of the island. Both channels were intercepted by some rocks, presenting no danger to navigation. Wood and water

were abundant in the interior; in an inlet to the north the coast was somewhat more level and sandy, offering safe and convenient anchorage. Time being limited they had not been able to take soundings. To the south-east, a channel of two or two and a half cables ran through the mountains, the latter rising in sharp peaks, then becoming much narrower the channel wound round to the south, perhaps going to meet the internal channels of Dusky Bay. The tide was not very rapid from the signs on the shore, the ebb appeared to be about mid-day. They saw a few birds, not a single seal, no shell fish save a few small limpets, and not a sign, however remote, of inhabitants. These were the chief points in their report of this place, to which must be added a total lack of pine trees, vegetation consisting of a species of medium sized shrub. In brief, unless chance or dire necessity bring mariners to this port, we must suppose that it is destined to be perpetually deserted, and that Dusky Bay will ever remain the port of welcome in this neighbourhood, offering as it does a more convenient, a safer, and a healthier refuge.

“Night falling and the boat taken up, we remained becalmed some little time off the coast, but soon a light north wind sprang up, which enabled us to put off, and by midnight we were three leagues from shore. Anxious to lose no time, we steered to the south, calculating we had still seven leagues to run, and by 3 in the morning, having made three of the seven we again stood to the coast, expecting to enter Dusky Bay at Daybreak. The wind was now increasing considerably, a heavy mist obscured the coast, and there was every sign of an unfavourable change in the weather.

“26th. We hoped that the first daylight would accord us a favourable opportunity of ascertaining our course, but dawn revealed a different outlook, and we appeared to have completely lost our advantageous position for gaining the port. At 4 in the morning, the fog having for a moment cleared off, we found ourselves suddenly at the entrance of Dusky Bay, and only two or three miles distant from Breaksea Island, which it was impossible to pass on account of the wind. Finding thus an error of three leagues in our calculations since midnight, we steered due west, the wind blowing a

strong gale. At 9 o'clock we again tacked and stood in to the land, waiting an opportunity of gaining the wind.

"But our efforts were vain. We were again standing in to the coast at the same position as in the early morning, the wind at N.E. and gaining strength every moment as we neared the shore, which warned us that to hold to our purpose was to run the risk of serious losses. Consequently we were compelled to take in two reefs in our topsails and steer to the south. At times portions of the coast were still visible, principally Five Fingers Point, which stood out clearly.

"Far from failing, by the afternoon the wind had become so violent that it might be called a hurricane, with a heavy sea running. We suffered considerable damage in our sails and rigging. The corvettes seemed powerless to resist. We had taken three reefs in the foresail and maintopsail, a precaution we considered necessary to prevent the waves from swamping the ships. By 10 o'clock an accident seemed to threaten us at any moment.

"After midnight the wind began to fall, but did not entirely cease until dawn, at which time we were sailing with two reefs in the four chief sails and topsails. The heavy weather was followed by a few brief intervals of calm, which was finally followed by a favourable S.S.E. wind, accompanied by an exceedingly dense fog.

"The course we had been compelled to take in the past storm had carried us to a considerable distance from the coast. Our observations revealed to us a strong current to the N., and thus we were no less than 30 leagues from the bay.

"The warning we had received brought reflection with it, and we decided that to enter into Dusky Bay for the sole purpose of making experiments of gravity was an unnecessary risk. Other reasons were added to this—viz., the extraordinary effects of the cold and of the last storm upon the already weakened and tired Phillipine crew, and the heavy rains experienced in the port, so that at times a fortnight would pass without an opportunity for taking any observations, and finally, as we were twice again to cross parallel 45 deg. on either side of Cape Horn it would not be difficult to find a more favourable opportunity of achieving our purpose.

“For these reasons, we decided that to repair the ships and rest the crew it would be advisable to put in at Port Jackson or Botany Bay in New Holland. We therefore steered west without delay, and at mid-day of the 28th, the following day, we were already 70 leagues from the extreme south of New Zealand.

“Our longitude before Doubtful Bay, compared with that of Captain Cook was as follows: The errors 30 and 20 min. in the two islands of New Zealand, which the captain noticed on his second voyage, had, of course, been corrected in our charts:—

	Chronom. 71	Num. 11
Longitude east of Manila	45.35.38	45.35.38
Longitude by time	45.41.01	45.13.12
Difference of time	5.23	22.26

Malaspina dropped anchor in Sydney on 13th March and sailed again on 12th April. On 20th April, or only eight days afterwards, the *Daedalus*, with several of Vancouver's men who had been at Dusky in 1791, reached Sydney. They alone could correct the error into which Cook and Malaspina had fallen of supposing that Dusky and Doubtful were connected, but they never met the Spaniards.

It is extremely difficult to ascertain the facts connected with Malaspina's voyage and his subsequent history; it is stated however, that on his return he incurred the enmity of those in power and was cast into prison at Corunna, where he remained until liberated by Napoleon in 1802. A copy of his log has been obtained by the present author, from the Spanish Archives at Madrid, but search so far has failed to locate his charts. There is a probability that the maps were prepared by one of the officers and were not kept amongst Malaspina's papers. That there was a chart published is beyond doubt. In Wyld's map of New Zealand, dated 1841, several Spanish names are to be found in Doubtful Sound. The meaning of some of these names, from the narrative just given, and with the aid of the list of officers of the vessel published with the work, we can now explain. The southern head, Point Febrero, is called after the month, February, when Malaspina visited the sound. Bauza Island at the entrance, is named

after the captain of the "armed boat of the Descubierta," which went in and examined the sound. Don Felipe Bausa was the official director of charts and maps and conducted the astronomical observations. The inlet to the north, offering safe and convenient anchorage, was called by the Spaniards, Pendulo Bay, but the name has been lost because it was afterwards found not to be a bay, but the entrance to Thompson Sound. "To the S.E. a channel ran among the mountains, the latter rising in sharp peaks." The name given to that point, Espinosa, was in honor of Don Jose Espinosa, who with Bausa, made observations on the latitude and longitude and the winds. Instead of the Spanish name, the meaningless one of Wood Head is now used on the charts. "The channel wound round to the south, perhaps going to meet the internal channels of Dusky Bay." To this channel was given the name Malaspina Creek, after the captain of the expedition. The Admiralty surveyors are blamed for calling it Smith Sound, First Arm and Crooked Arm. The last two the Spaniards appear not to have noticed; which is strange, as even if they hugged the northern shore and a thick mist was in the sound, it would seem impossible to have escaped detecting them. Wyld in his map gives to the supposed connecting link with Dusky the name Mac's Passage. Two other Spanish names occur. Nea Island, still retained, at the mouth, may be called after Luis Nees the botanist of the *Atrevida*. The name Point Quintano, one of the points of Pendulo Bay, has not been retained. It was called after Fernando Quintano the third lieutenant of the *Descubierta*.

The writer hopes that one day the powers that be, will pay the graceful compliment, to that Spanish expedition, of revising all these old names, so that not only may we have a record of the Spanish expeditionary visit, but have that record perpetuated in the names of isle, headland, and sound.

REFERENCES.

CHAPTER V.

1. H.B., Vol. II., p. 25.
2. Malaspina, *Viage de las Corbetas Descubierta y Atrevida*, Madrid, (1885) p. 249.

CHAPTER VI.

WRECK OF THE ENDEAVOUR, 1795.

The departure of Raven and his sealing gang from the shores of New Zealand in 1793, left the south of New Zealand, so far as we can ascertain, without a white man upon its shores, in which condition things remained until in 1795 the Endeavour and the Fancy reached Facile Harbour, Dusky Bay.

No wreck upon the New Zealand coast, excepting perhaps that of the Boyd, has excited so much discussion and controversy as has that of this old East Indiaman. Her name having been so long before the public and her identity having been so often confounded with that of Cook's Endeavour, it may be as well to start by explaining the circumstances under which she came to New Zealand.

The Right Hon. Henry Dundas of the Home Office, in July 1792, instructed Governor Phillip of New South Wales to send the *Daedalus*, on her arrival at Sydney from Vancouver, to Calcutta for a cargo of sheep and cattle.¹ Delay having taken place in the arrival of the vessel, in April 1793, Grose, Phillip's successor, contracted with Captain Bampton of the *Shah Hormuzear* to bring one hundred head of cattle and some food supplies, from India.²

From one cause or another the voyage was a very protracted one, and in Sydney all hope of the vessel's safety had been abandoned, when the *Fancy*, a small brig of 150 tons, commanded by Captain Dell, arrived from India with a portion of the cargo contracted for, and explained the delay. Captain Bampton was to follow.³ While waiting for him, the *Fancy* ran across to the River Thames, where she spent three months, her crew being engaged in cutting spars to freight whatever vessel Bampton might bring from India. In this work they were very successful, securing two hundred trees

from sixty to one hundred and forty feet in length. The *Fancy* returned to Sydney on 15th March, 1795.*

On 31st May, 1795, Captain William Wright Bampton arrived in Sydney with the *Endeavour*, an 800 ton vessel, destined to make a name for herself in New Zealand history. We are not so much interested in her cargo as in the circumstances under which Bampton picked her up. These he explained to Lieut.-Governor Paterson on his arrival. The war and the presence of French privateers, kept him a month at Batavia, so that he did not reach Bombay until February, 1794. On his arrival there, no ship fit for conveying cattle to a great distance was procurable, and it was not until the middle of May that the *Endeavour* arrived. Bampton after purchasing her found that she was not fit to face the boisterous latitudes without docking. This operation took until the month of October, 1794, and as this was not the season for cattle from Surat, it was January before the cargo could be got together. Two months were required to put the cattle in order for shipping, and the *Endeavour* sailed from Bombay for Sydney on 17th March, 1795, with one hundred and thirty-two head of cattle and a cargo of new Surat grain.†

From 31st May to 18th September the *Endeavour* remained at Sydney undergoing repairs, and on the latter date sailed for Dusky Bay in company with the *Fancy* (snow) commanded by Capt. E. T. Dell. No sooner had she got clear of the Heads than forty-five men and one woman were found to have stowed themselves on board. Four of these turned out to be carpenters. On 3rd October the vessel began to make a great deal of water, and all hands were employed at the pumps which had to be kept going through the fourth and fifth, to counteract the effects of the working of the ship labouring under the northerly gales, which raged with great violence. What day the vessel reached Dusky cannot be stated, because the log has no entry from 5th to 12th October, on which latter date both the *Endeavour* and the *Fancy* were at anchor in Facile Harbour.

No sooner had a landing been effected, than Captains Bampton and Dell went off to Luncheon Cove, to view the vessel, which we know was left there by Raven's sealing gang

in 1793. The little wharf was still standing and so was the vessel on the stocks, and although she did not appear in a very seaworthy condition, her injuries were found to be confined to the shrinking and splitting of some of the timbers; not much to men in the condition of the Endeavour's crew who could not afford to be very particular. The Endeavour herself was in such a state that a survey was made by Captain Dell of the Fancy, and Messrs Dennison and Fell, his first and second Officers, Messrs William Bowell and Alms, passengers; and Messrs Waine, Weathrall and Murray, the Officers of the Endeavour, along with the carpenters of both vessels. The result disclosed a condition of things which made the on-lookers thankful she had held together during the tempestuous seas; and nothing remained to be done but to condemn her.

Following upon the condemnation of the vessel, all hands were engaged in getting ashore what could be saved from the wreck. The rigging was taken down and sent away. The masts were cut out, the cables removed, and the food and ammunition placed on board the Fancy. While removing her guns two were lost by the upsetting of a raft, so there remains in the vicinity of the old wreck a prize still to be got by some energetic explorer. On the 25th the vessel was unmoored, and on the 27th she struck a rock on a bank close to where the Britannia had lain during her voyage; and there she lies until this day. Such was the wreck, or to be more correct, the abandonment, of the Endeavour. To-day, one hundred and eleven years after the old craft was laid to rest, timber is being taken from her to satisfy the demands of tourists and curio hunters, and the sound teak obtained is a remarkable advertisement of the qualities of that timber for ship building purposes.

Including the forty-one who had secreted themselves on board the Endeavour, the total number of people now at Dusky was no less than two hundred and forty-four, and when the mixed nature of the crowd is considered, it is not surprising to find that they did not long remain in a happy and contented condition. First of all, on the 13th October, came trouble among the Officers, when Mr Bowell, the first mate

resigned, and was replaced by Mr Waine, the second: then on the 18th the miscellaneous crowd, who had refused to take their proper share of work, were mustered, and threatened with expulsion from the ship's quarters, and shore camp for the future. No sooner had these difficulties been surmounted, than on the 23rd the stores were broken into and some of the food supplies stolen, but the thief was discovered and handed over to the shore men for punishment. Trouble with the crew did not end until the 28th, when Captain Bampton gave his last and fixed resolution to decline to permit any who refused to do their share of the work, to return to the mainland on board any vessel of his. The desperate position of such a great number of people and the utter hopelessness of relief, except with the assistance of the Captain, seems to have so far awed the crew that there were no further complaints.

From the log of the vessel kept by the fourth Officer, Mr Rt. Murray, which the author discovered in the Essex Institute at Salem, Mass. U.S.A., and a portion of which is reproduced in Appendix E, it will be seen that Captain Bampton's relations with the first Officer, Weatherall, were not such as they should have been, and this was the cause of a very violent quarrel between that Officer and one of the passengers named Alms. The dispute went so far that the mate was challenged to a duel with pistols but the invitation was declined.

While the trouble was going on between the Officers and the men, every effort was being made to get the great crowd of men safely away from the dreary shores of Dusky Bay. The vessel which Raven had left lying at Luncheon Cove was repaired as well as circumstances permitted and as a schooner, under the name of the Providence, put into commission, under Captain Dell, to carry ninety persons. Bampton himself went into the Fancy and made provision for taking with him sixty-four of the shipwrecked mariners. To complete the entire transfer it was necessary to arrange for ninety, and that number was ultimately provided for by taking the long-boat of the Endeavour, and from her frame, with the fittings of the abandoned vessel, building a craft to sail to Sydney under the command of Mr Waine. When the Fancy and the Providence

were ready for sea, this vessel, which Bampton called the *Resource*, was not expected to be completed for three weeks, but it was decided to sail without her, as she was to return direct to Sydney, while Bampton and Dell were bound for Norfolk Island. Whether Bampton was justified in this action of abandoning his first officer is a moot point. The fact that he was not over friendly with Waine; that the new craft was plainly not likely to be a phenomenal success, in spite of the efforts that were put forward to complete her; and the annoyance that Waine must have felt at having his lot cast on board her after Bampton decided not to stay; all tended to strain the relationship between the first officer and his commander with the result that on New Year's Day things culminated in Bampton charging Waine with discontent.

On Thursday 7th January, 1796, the *Providence* and the *Fancy* sailed from *Facile Harbour*, and as they passed *Point Five Fingers* the former vessel narrowly escaped shipwreck through missing stays, and in the calm began drifting with the tide towards the Point; a position from which she was saved by an opportune breath of wind. The *Resource* was left behind.

On 19th January, 1796, the *Fancy* and the *Providence* arrived at Norfolk Island, at that time a convict settlement, and Captain Dell of the latter vessel went ashore to the Lieutenant-Governor's residence with the following letter:—

Snow Fancy, off Norfolk Island,

19th January, 1796.

Dear Sir,—

I beg leave to acquaint you that I sailed from Port Jackson in the *Endeavour*, with the *Fancy*, on the 19th of September last; but, having unfortunately suffered the disaster of the *Endeavour's* being shipwrecked, and having now only a few days' provision of rice alone to subsist on, and that at half allowance, under such unfortunate circumstances, I have taken the liberty of requesting your humane assistance for such necessary supplies as I stand in need of, and his Majesty's store will admit, to enable me to return to India.

I likewise beg leave to inform you that I have between twenty-five and thirty people who secreted themselves on board the Endeavour (unknown to me or any of the officers), whose time of transportation is not yet expired. I therefore hope, sir, you will be so kind as to send boats and a guard to take them on shore; as likewise a number of others whom I permitted, by leave of his Excellency Governor Hunter, to take a passage to India, but from my unfortunate situation cannot take them any further.

For further particulars, I beg leave to refer you to Captain Dell, who will give you every information of our circumstances, and wait with pleasure.

With my best respects to Mrs King.

I have, &c.,

W. W. BAMPTON.

The miserable condition of the escapees from Port Jackson called from Lieut.-Governor King, in his despatch to the Duke of Portland, the following comment:—

“The distressed state of the master and people belonging to those vessels has induced me to comply with his request in the manner stated in the enclosure, which I hope will meet your Grace’s approbation.

“I have the honour to enclose lists of persons of different descriptions landed here from the Fancy, snow, and Providence, schooner. They are real objects of pity, being so debilitated from extreme hunger that it will be some time before any labour can be got from them.”

In the same despatch dated 19th January, 1796, which King was taking advantage of Bampton’s voyage to India, to forward to Headquarters, are contained some few particulars of the wreck.

“Mr Bampton informs me that at Dusky Bay he left a schooner of sixty tons almost built, which may be expected here with the remainder of the people belonging to the Endeavour in about three weeks.

“It may be necessary to inform your Grace that the loss of that ship was occasioned by stress of weather, which compelled the master and officers to run her ashore in Facile

Harbour, Dusky Bay, New Zealand, where she lies bilged. Such stores belonging to the wreck as could not be taken away by the three small vessels are left at Dusky Bay in store-houses, under the care of four men, who are to remain there until a vessel can be sent from India, to take them off."

King appeared to think he had performed an extremely charitable act in relieving Captain Bampton, but the document addressed to Deputy-Commissary Clark shows that nothing was parted with, without a *quid pro quo*. As a sample of Norfolk Island terms of relief to shipwrecked mariners in 1796, its terms are worth producing in extenso.⁵

Mr William Wright Bampton (late master of the Endeavour) having represented the distressed state of his people for provisions and some stores, which are necessary for the prosecution of his voyage to India, and as he informs me he can procure a person to lodge twelve hundred pounds of fresh pork in his Majesty's stores in exchange for an equal quantity of salt beef, and that he has a quantity of salt which will be useful in curing Government's pork, which he is willing to give as an equivalent return for the quantity of dhol required, and will pay any overplus in money.

On these conditions you will deliver him the salt beef out of the stores, and the dhol from that condemned by survey, with the stores as per margin, taking a fair valuation of the worth of those articles, delivering to me original copies of the same, together with such money as may be given for the overplus value, to be applied by me to the purpose of purchasing grain and fresh pork.

For all which this shall be your order.

Given under my hand at Sydney, on Norfolk Island, this 19th day of January, 1796.

PHILIP GIDLEY KING.

Margin.

Two tons and a half of dhol; twelve hundred pounds of beef; three pieces of island canvas; one hundred pounds of nails; six hundred deck-nails;

some ironwork, about seventy pounds weight, four pounds of thread.

Word did not reach Sydney about the wreck for some considerable time. Collins tells us: "On the 17th (March, 1796), the vessel, built by the shipwright Hatherleigh at Dusky Bay arrived, with some of the people left behind by Bampton. They were so distressed for provisions, that the person who had the direction of the vessel could not bring away the whole; and it was singularly fortunate that he arrived as he did, for with all the economy that could be used, his small stock of provisions was consumed to the last mouthful the day before he made the land. The vessel, which the officer who commanded her (Waine, one of the mates of the Endeavour) not inappropriately named the Assistance, was built entirely of the timber of Dusky Bay, but appeared to be miserably constructed. She was of near sixty tons burden, and was now to be sold for the benefit of Mr Bampton.

"The situation of the people still remaining at Dusky Bay was not, we understood, the most enviable; their dependence for provisions being chiefly on the seals and birds which they might kill. They had all belonged to this Colony, and one or two happened to be persons of good character."

It looks suspicious that forty-one convicts and others could secret themselves, unknown to the officers, on board the vessel before sailing. The presence of passengers would negative a suggestion that it was his intention to go down to Dusky and leave his vessel there, were it not for information given by the historian Collins. That author says that Raven's incomplete vessel was "completed and launched according to a previous agreement between the two commanders."¹⁰

Governor Hunter, who left Sydney in 1801, reported in England regarding the fate of the Providence and the Assistance, that when he left New South Wales, one New Zealand built vessel probably the Assistance, was in Sydney, and another, probably the Providence, had gone to Batavia.¹¹ We do know however that on her arrival in Sydney the Assistance, which Bampton had called the Resource, was sold for £250° while the log of the voyage records the fact that when

Bampton reached Norfolk Island he put Mr Murray of the *Fancy* in command of the *Providence*, and she sailed on with him towards India. The log was kept on board the *Providence* from 2nd February to 17th April 1796, when the supply of paper for such purposes was exhausted. The vessel turned out to be a very poor sailer but she made the *Loyalty Islands* on 5th February and speaking of her on 6th February, Captain Murray says: "It is the intention of Captain Bampton to leave us, being a bad sailer, to ourselves, this day we have kept ahead of the brig, and, as we have no ballast very little water and few good sails, the present time should I think be embraced of getting these points accomplished that we may proceed on our passage." On 10th April, 1796, the position of the *Providence* was Lat. $1^{\circ} 22'$ S. and $119^{\circ} 53'$ E. She probably made for *Batavia* and never left the harbour, which would fit in with the story told above by Governor Hunter. Her log is now in the *Essex Institute*, Salem, Mass U.S.A. How it came there is a mystery, but it may have been that one of the *Salem East India* merchantmen bound for *Canton* or the *East* generally, called at *Batavia*, and Murray shipped on board, taking his log with him. Be that as it may there is the log of the *Britannia* 1792-95, the log of the *Endeavour* 1795-96, and the log of the *Providence* 1796, all kept by Mr Robert Murray; and in one volume they form, with perhaps the solitary exception of Cook's manuscripts, the most interesting historical record relating to *New Zealand* ever discovered.

Bampton had hoped that the *Assistance* would have taken off all but four men who were to be left in charge of surplus stores, and who were to be relieved by a vessel sent from *India*; but as it happened thirty-five men were left behind, and no vessel came from *India*. Relying doubtless on the *Indian* relief, *Waine* took no steps to bring away the remnant of his crew. Time went on. The year 1796 passed, and still no tidings of the relief from *India*. Governor Hunter now began to get uneasy for the safety of the men; but as he had no vessel at *Port Jackson* fit for the work of facing the stormy *New Zealand* seas, he could do nothing. The only thing was to try and enter into an arrangement with some

whaler to call and relieve them. And the opportunity presented itself early in 1797 when an American snow, the *Mercury*, from Manilla, called in at Port Jackson where she stayed four months. On being approached, when the vessel was leaving Sydney, to call at Dusky, the master made no objection, only stipulating that he might be permitted to take from the wreck such stores as he might require. Of course Hunter could not give such permission; he could only direct him to make what terms he could with any of the persons belonging to her, whom he might find alive, and in addition give him a letter to the commanding officer at Norfolk Island to permit his landing the survivors there.¹³

The *Mercury* sailed about the middle of May 1797, and although the captain incurred the indignation of Collins because he had repaid Sydney hospitality by taking away a female convict without the Governor's permission,¹³ still his heart was in the right place, and he made for the shipwrecked mariners at Dusky and relieved them. In September 1797, a small decked long boat arrived from Norfolk Island and brought word that the *Mercury* had landed thirty-five people belonging to the *Endeavour*, who had been wrecked twenty months before (October 1795) on that Island.¹⁴ This service was performed, we are told, "under many difficulties," and we can well believe it. The advice to make a contract with the shipwrecked men was adopted, and a copy of same was sent by the master to Governor Hunter. Unfortunately the terms of the document are not available. Beyond the above, nothing is known with any certainty regarding the *Mercury*. There was however, an American snow called the *Mercury*, Captain Todd, which had been captured by the French, carried into Morlaix and released, and the demand of the American Government for an indemnity had not been answered, when in June 1797 the lists were published.¹⁵ This would fit in with the movements of the Dusky Bay "*Mercury*."

That is the simple narrative of the wreck in Dusky. Romances that have been woven around it and fairy tales that have been taken as solemn truth, would fill volumes. Some might be referred to here.

Miss Bourke in her *Little History of New Zealand*¹⁶

printed for the use of New Zealand schools says: "No one knows how she came here, but she is of no English or modern make, and some one who was adventurous enough to dive down and examine her says she is made of teak." Her fate is thus described. "One morning a ship sailed into Dusky Bay and when close to shore she suddenly sank and disappeared, the crew swam off and lived for some time on a small island, and there one by one they died but who they were or where they came from none can say."

With a mysterious basis like this to work upon and the imagination untrammelled by any facts, it was a simple thing to load up the old craft with untold quantities of gold. With this cargo she blossoms out as the solution of the Madagascar mystery. Told in 1882 by Messrs Anglem and Gilroy, two names well known amongst the old families of the south, the vessel was the Madagascar which had sailed from Melbourne. She had on board a large quantity of gold. The men mutinied. The ship was burnt. The treasure was taken ashore and buried, with a pick stuck in the ground to mark the spot. The survivors made for Lake Wakatipu. Of course there was the usual finish. The man who found that pick became rich beyond the dreams of avarice.¹⁷ Visions of these riches are said to have tempted cutters from the Bluff to visit the scene of the wreck, with the usual, and in this case the inevitable result. One of the trips was made in the cutter Heather Bell chartered by three Sydney men representing a syndicate, which had been formed there. They brought with them a Sydney diver and took with them a quantity of stores and dynamite to the wreck to carry on salvage operations.

As late as 1903 with all the foregoing information available this is found in a published work. "She is nothing more than an old transport that brought out a cargo of convicts to the Cove. Being in a state of starvation, the convict authorities chartered her to obtain supplies, and visit Dusky en route. Arriving there she was so completely waterlogged that she had to be taken into Facile and scuttled."¹⁸ This all goes to show how difficult it is to get back to fact, when fiction has held undisputed sway for some time.

In addition to the romance which gathered around the

identity of the wreck, there was still the dispute regarding the question, whether it was Captain Cook's old Endeavour or not. The clearing up of the later years of Cook's barque as shown in a preceding chapter, settled all question of identity; but many hung on to the idea that the two vessels were one and the same. No less an authority on New Zealand coastal matters than Captain Fairchild, the late master of the Government steamer, is said to have held that view. In September 1895, he spent some time investigating the wreck and taking measurements of it, coming finally to the conclusion that she was a vessel of 128 feet keel and not 180 as he had previously estimated. Owing to this changed size of the vessel he made up his mind that she was the old Endeavour of Cook.¹⁰

Although not connected in any way with the wreck of the Endeavour, the next event in southern New Zealand is the discovery of the Antipodes Islands and it is here given to complete the record of the eighteenth century events. H.M.S. Reliance, on service in New South Wales, became worn out and unfit for further service, and whilst she still remained in a condition fit to undertake the ocean voyage to England, Governor Hunter ordered her Home. She sailed from Port Jackson on 3rd March 1800, and on 26th March the following entry appears in the Captain's Journal: "Latd. in South 49° 51' Longd. in East 180° 5'. Strong gales and squally, handed the Fore Topsail. A.M. at 2 discovered land on our lee beam about 2 miles distant, hauled to the wind and stood off, at day break wore and stood in for the land, which proved to be a desolate, Mountainous, and barren Island, scarce any verdure to be seen upon it, at 6 running along the eastern coast of the Island, at 8 bore up and stood on our course the Eastern extremity of the land S. b. W. to S.W. b. W. distant from a small Island at the N. E. end of the large one, 3 miles, at 9 the small Island bore W. b. S. distant 3 leagues." These islands Waterhouse named the Penantipodes, from their approach to the antipodes of London. Seals were seen upon them, and they were located lat. 49° 49' 30" S. and long. 179° 20' E.¹⁰

The century therefore closed with the coast line as Cook had laid it down thirty years before, except that his 1773

survey of Dusky had been completed and corrected by Vancouver in 1791, and Malaspina had obtained an idea of the outline of Doubtful in 1793. Foveaux Strait was as yet undiscovered. Of the outlying islands, the Traps had been discovered by Cook in 1770; the Bounties by Bligh in 1788; the Snares by Vancouver in 1791; and the Penantipodes by Waterhouse in 1800. The small craft of Sydney had not yet braved the Tasman Sea, and British trade had still to be carried on through the East India Company. Foreigners in the shape of at least one American vessel, the snow Mercury, had visited the south of New Zealand for trading purposes.

REFERENCES.

CHAPTER VI.

- | | |
|---|---|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. H.R., Vol. I. pt. 2, p. 631. 2. H.R., Vol. II., p. 22. 3. H.R., Vol. II., p. 253. 4. H.R., Vol. II., p. 287. 5. H.R., Vol. II., p. 300. 6. H.R., Vol. III., p. 8. 7. H.R., Vol. III., p. 7. 8. H.R., Vol. III., p. 9. 9. Collins, Vol. I., pp. 461, 466. 10. Collins, Vol. I., p. 460. 11. H.R., Vol. IV., p. 732. | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 12. H.R., Vol. III., p. 344. 13. Collins, Vol. II., p. 38. 14. Collins, Vol. II., p. 48. 15. Aurora General Advertiser,
(Phil., U.S.A.) June 26, 1797. 16. Page 9. 17. Scuthland Times, Nov. 30,
1882. 18. Historical Records of New
Zealand South (1903), p. 175. 19. Nelson Colonist, Feb. 27, 1896. 20. Collins, Vol. II., p. 287. |
|---|---|

CHAPTER VII.

BASS AND HIS MONOPOLY, 1801 TO 1803.

What we know best naturally looms largest before us, and there is always a danger of magnifying the importance of the subject under review. The writer will not say that southern New Zealand has associated with it the greatest names in early Australian history, but he does assert that very many great Australian names are linked with this part of the colony. The greatest of the early Pacific navigators, Cook and Vancouver, explored and benefited by their stay on its shores; the Spanish navigator Malaspina gazed upon its rugged fiords; and Raven and Bampton, the most enterprising of early Australian trading sea captains, chronicle Dusky Bay incidents among the most stirring they experienced. Now we come to the most intrepid of Australian coastal navigators, Bass, visiting the country, and following up that visit by drafting a scheme for southern New Zealand supplying the young colony of New South Wales with fish, oil, bone and skins.

In 1795 George Bass arrived in Sydney as surgeon on board H.M.S. *Reliance*, and first appears on the official records through Governor Hunter sending him to examine a coal discovery not far from that city. His report upon the field is dated August 1797.¹ We know however, from other sources that with Flinders and a boy, he had already made an expedition along the coast, being absent for eight days, in a little boat eight feet long, braving the storms of the ocean and the savages of the land, with the utmost contempt for danger.²

This commission seems to have fanned into a flame that wild love of exploration and adventure which characterised the remaining years of his life. He was now but thirty-four years old, and is described as "six foot high, dark complexion, wears spectacles, a very penetrating countenance."³ Return-

ing from his coalmining explorations he persuaded Hunter to allow him to take six seamen and six weeks' provisions in a whaleboat, to explore the coast line south of Sydney. As a matter of fact he made the six weeks spin out to twelve, and in that time visited every hole and corner on the coast for something like 600 miles and was satisfied, from what he saw, that Van Diemen's Land was an island, and not part of the Australian mainland.* Subsequently Lieutenant Flinders of the *Reliance*, and Bass were sent by Governor Hunter to complete the explorations. They sailed round Van Diemen's Land in 1799 in a sloop of 25 tons called the *Norfolk*. The separating strait in memory of this achievement received the name of Bass Strait.⁵

An eight days' trip by sea in a boat only eight feet long, followed by a twelve weeks' cruise of 600 miles in a whaleboat, and crowned by circumnavigating unknown Van Diemens' Land in a twenty-five ton sloop, placed Bass in the front rank of Australian navigators.

In 1800 the *Reliance*, being unfit for service, was ordered Home. Bass presumably went with her; at any rate we know he returned to England at this time. If he sailed in the *Reliance* he saw the Penantipodes, and perhaps there got his first inspiration for a fishing scheme to cover the islands.

Arrived in England, his adventurous spirit suggested a roving trade in the South Sea Islands with the Sydney settlement. He married, and within three months left his young wife at home, never again to see her. He and his father-in-law became members of a company, which purchased the brig *Venus*, an Indian teak built vessel of 140 tons. Bishop sailed as captain, with Bass as supercargo, and cargo to the total value of £10,890 was purchased with sums invested in the undertaking by a number of their friends.⁶

At Port Jackson the market was found to be glutted, and prospects looked very gloomy indeed; however they secured a charter from Governor King, and the cargo was given a free bond until their return. The *Venus* was to proceed to the South Sea Islands for salted pork, excluding "head, feet, and flays of the pigs," all delivered would be paid for at the rate of sixpence per pound. King was to supply the casks for the

cargo, but should he fail to provide sufficient, Bass had permission to utilize the space left vacant by purchasing and selling on his own account.⁷ When the time came to leave, Governor King could not supply enough casks to fill the vessel, and Bass had to look elsewhere for his complement. To obtain this he sailed for Dusky to manufacture the casks he required. Leaving Sydney on 21st November, 1801, the Sound was reached on 5th December. The cutting of the necessary timber took fourteen days, and during that time he picked up from the wreck of the Endeavour "some few trifles of ships' stores and unwrought iron" which he hoped to turn to account. From later information received from Bass, it appears he converted the iron into axes and made a considerable profit from this source. From Dusky he sailed for Otaheite, where he arrived on 24th January, 1802.⁸ One cannot but be struck with the reputation Dusky had for timber, when we consider that to make up his complement of casks Bass should sail from Sydney to that place, especially from a country so richly endowed with timber as Australia. The good reports given by Cook, Vancouver, Raven, and Bampton, had evidently made it a well advertised centre for ships' accessories.

Bass returned to Sydney in November 1802, and his venture proved a profitable one, although part of the original cargo was still to be disposed of. December and January were spent in elaborating plans—plans for a trip as bold as it was original. The central object was to get provisions and live stock from the coast of Chili, but there was also included a great fishery scheme embracing the extreme south of New Zealand, the details of the scheme were to be arranged upon his return from the present voyage. The proposal had been more than merely formulated; it had been discussed with the Governor and it would look, from the correspondence, as if the concessions asked for were to have been granted to him on his return from Chili.

When the Historical Records of New South Wales were being compiled and edited, the document containing Bass' scheme was not available. On the attention of the London Office being drawn to it, a copy was sent out, but it arrived too late for inclusion. This document Mr Bladen, the editor

of the Records, has kindly placed at the present author's disposal, with leave to publish it. The following is a copy; the Governor's comments in the usual official form will be found at the end of the document.

Sydney, New South Wales,
Jan. 30th, 1803.

Your Excellency,
Sir,—

From the dearness of animal food in this country, and the little prospect there is of its price being reduced by killing the live stock for many years to come, I have been induced to make some consideration upon the chance of lessening the vast sums expended annually by the Government, in sending out hither supplies of beef and pork for the rations of the convicts, whose numbers, now that peace is established in Europe, we may conclude will every year be very considerably augmented.

In point of information, it is unnecessary for me to say to your Excellency, that by my late voyage to the South Sea Islands, I have enabled you to issue from the Public Stores, pork at a price much below what the Government could have sent it out from England; but I mention the circumstance to impress upon your Excellency that I have not only undertaken but performed a reduction at the Public Expense (*a*). Thus furthering your arduous exertions to the same end, whilst producing to myself a profitable though very moderate return, and on this plan am I desirous of proceeding in the present instance.

I have every proof, short of actual experiment, that fish may be caught in abundance near the South part of the South Island of New Zealand, or at the neighbouring Islands. And that a large quantity might be supplied annually to the Public Stores.

Government aiding me in the project, I will make the experiment.

The aid I ask of Government is an exclusive privilege or lease of the South part of New Zealand,

or that South of Dusky Bay, drawing the line in the same parallel of latitude across to the East side of the Island, as also of the Bounty Isles, Penantipode Isle, and the Snares, all being English discoveries, together with ten leagues of sea around their coasts (b). The lease to continue for seven years yet to come; renewable to twenty-one years, if the fishery within the first seven, is judged likely to succeed. Capability of affording to the Public Stores once every week a ration of good salt fish at one penny per pound less cost than a meat ration, calculated at the prime cost in England with freight, to be deemed good and sufficient proof of success, and ground for claiming the renewal of the lease to its utmost limit of 21 years.

And, since the several different places above specified, are only asked for to give greater scope to the experiment, they shall all upon application for renewal of lease, be given up, that only excepted which experience shall have proved to be the best adapted for the purpose in view, which purpose is no other than that of a fishery.

Until after the expiration of seven years I cannot consent to supply annually any specific quantity of fish to the Public Stores, such term being to be considered as a period of probation only. Nor do I wish that Government shall be bound to take any specific quantity of fish annually, supposing that quantity to be ready. Government may, within the above space of time become purchasers, or not, as is found convenient (c).

And should any failure happen in the Stores, and times of exigency again be seen in the land, I will ready come forward, and supply one half of the fish I may have in my own private stores during such exigency at 25 per cent. less cost than the then market price of that article in this Colony.

If your Excellency thinks the above proposal worthy of notice, I request of you at once to have the

privilege, that I may begin to set matters in motion.

If I can draw up food from the sea in places which are lying useless to the world, I surely am entitled to make an exclusive property of the fruits of my ingenuity, as much as the man who obtains Letters Patent for a corkscrew or a cake of blacking.

Sir, I am, &c.,

GEORGE BASS.

To his Excellency,

Governor King.

“Comments.”

(a). The quantity of pork purchased from Mr Bass at 6d. per lb. was very acceptable at the time it came before the supplies arrived from England—and as far as my information goes, at least 6d. per lb. less than it could be sent from England. But it is to be supposed that if the peace continue salt pork sent from England will not exceed sixpence a lb. and we have now 3 years meat in store. May 9th, 1803.

(b). As Mr Bass limits the time of his first essay to seven years, his success may warrant the term being extended. But it remains to be ascertained how far the fish thus salted will answer, and whether the oyla potatoes expended with the fish may not be adequate to the saving proposed. But as it is at his own risque that he undertakes this enterprise, every encouragement, I presume, should be allowed him—which at present depends on the progress he may make, when he makes the trial which will not be done until his return from his present voyage.

(c) This is by no means binding on the Government to take the fish unless wanted.

Before leaving Sydney, Bass penned a letter to Captain Waterhouse, formerly of the *Reliance*, stating his programme. “From this place I go to New Zealand to pick up something more from the wreck of the old *Endeavour* in Dusky Bay, then visit some of the islands lying south of it in search of seals and fish. The former, should they be found, are intended to furnish a cargo to England immediately on my

return from this trip. The fish are to answer a proposal I have made to Government to establish a fishery on condition of receiving an exclusive privilege of the south part of New Zealand and of its neighbouring isles, which privilege is at once to be granted to me. The fishery is not to be set in motion till after my return to old England, where I mean to seize upon my dear Bess, bring her out here, and make a *poissarde* of her, where she cannot fail to find plenty of use for her tongue.

“We have, I assure you, great plans in our heads; but, like the basket of eggs, all depends upon the success of the voyage I am now upon.”⁹

In an earlier letter to Waterhouse, Bass had gone more fully into detail regarding his proposed action at Dusky. “I shall go to Dusky Bay again this voyage for the purpose of picking up two anchors and breaking the iron fastenings out of an old Indiaman that lies there deserted, with the intention of selling the former to the Spaniards, and of working up the other to purchase pork in the Islands. Of the little iron we took out last voyage, converted by our smith into axes, we made a good thing. Now we shall be prepared for breaking her up.”¹⁰

The *Venus* sailed on this voyage to Dusky and the southern islands on 5th February, 1803, but beyond stray stories of navigators, such as always surround the romantic incidents of the sea, nothing has since been heard of her. This voyage suggests some speculations in connection with the discovery of Foveaux Strait. The recorded discovery was 1809, but the more southern history is perused, the more probable does it appear that the strait was known at an earlier date. Bass was the man who first established the existence of a strait between Australia and Van Diemen's Land. His plan during this voyage was to examine the south of New Zealand and the islands for fish and seals. It is more than probable that after getting what he wanted from the old Dusky Bay wreck, he skirted the southern part of the colony, to perfect his knowledge of the coast line of his intended monopoly, and following it along, he could not escape passing through what is now known as Foveaux Strait. This of

course is only conjecture, and will probably always remain so. However wild the scheme of a southern fishery at that date may have looked, subsequent history has shown us that the very area he indicated, was proved afterwards to have the richest sealing grounds, the most productive shore whaling coast, the finest deep sea fishing waters and the most extensive oyster beds, in Australasia.

Of the stories told by navigators of the fate of this intrepid man, the one which gained the greatest credence was that of Captain Campbell. Campbell traded between Port Jackson and Chili. One voyage was performed from June 1803, to January 1804. It is alleged, that on his return from this voyage he reported that Bass had been captured by the Spaniards when landing in his boat, at one of the ports, his vessel seized, and the prisoners sent inland to the mines. The knowledge however that the English prisoners in these Spanish settlements were, in 1808, released and sent to England, introduces an element of doubt as to the correctness of Campbell's statement; for had Bass been among these unfortunates, he would certainly have been restored to his people. There was also a story that Bass had been afterwards seen in South America. His career ended in mystery, and this is all that can be said. Probably his intrepidity brought about his destruction.¹¹

A weekly paper called the Sydney Gazette was during this year established in Sydney, and scraps of narrative in the shipping reports after this date, give us items of great value in tracing the growth of southern New Zealand trade.

REFERENCES.

CHAPTER VII.

- | | |
|---|------------------------------|
| 1. H.R., Vol. III., p. 289. | 6. H.R., Vol. IV., p. 587. |
| 2. Sidney's Three Colonies or
Australia (1852), p. 54. | 7. H.R., Vol. IV., p. 591. |
| 3. H.R., Vol. III., p. 312 note. | 8. H.R., Vol. IV., p. 689. |
| 4. H.R., Vol. III., p. 363. | 9. H.R., Vol. V., p. 14. |
| 5. H.R., Vol. III., p. 769. | 10. H.R., Vol. V. p. 2. |
| | 11. H.R., Vol. III., p. 312. |

CHAPTER VIII.

SEALERS ARRIVE, 1803 TO 1805.

Bass Strait was, up to this time, the great sealing ground of Australasia. Seals had been taken in New Zealand, but chiefly by the crews of large vessels calling there while loading for distant parts. It was to Bass Strait that the regular sealing craft owned by Sydney men sailed. These vessels consisted of small sloops and schooners, of from 11 to 38 tons burden, and eleven of these are mentioned in February 1804, as trading to that place.¹

There is no doubt that the publicity given to the question of the proposed south New Zealand fishery concession through Bass' negotiations, directed the attention of sealers to the shores of Dusky and the vicinity of the South Cape, as well as to the islands lying to the south—the Snares, Bounties, and the Penantipodes. This was inevitable, and we are not borrowing much from our imagination in supposing that advantage was taken of Bass' absence to exploit the localities of the concession contemplated by that gentleman.

The above however was not the only reason for the new order of things which now began to obtain in sealing. The New South Wales Records contain reports, as early as December 1802, from King's Island, that the seals owing to continual harassing, appeared to have forsaken the island, and it was anticipated that the sea elephants would follow them.² The French Commodore Baudin of the *Geographe* and *Naturaliste*, sent out by Napoleon at the end of 1802, wrote from King's Island to Governor King in these words, "There is every appearance that in a short time your fishermen will have drained the island of its resources by the fishery of the sea-wolf and the sea-elephant. Both will soon abandon their resorts to you if time be not allowed them to recruit their numbers, which have been much diminished

by the destructive war carried on against them. They are becoming scarce already, and if you dont issue an order you will soon hear that they have entirely disappeared." 3

When this was the official intimation of the state of affairs it is easy to see that the traders were on the look out for other fields to exploit. The most energetic of these firms were R. Campbell and Co., Simeon Lord, Palmer and Co., and Kable and Underwood; names that were to be known afterwards in New Zealand history. A paragraph occurring in the narrative of the voyages of the French vessels mentioned above, in reference to their stay at Sydney in 1802, suggests that Palmer and Co., at that early date had a sealing fleet engaged on the New Zealand coast. The paragraph is thus rendered by Pinkerton: "At a spot called by the natives Wallamoola is the charming dwelling of the commissary-general of government, Mr Palmer. Here it is that Mr Palmer causes those small vessels to be built he employs in the whale and seal fishing off New Zealand, and in Bass's Strait." 4 The statement is a very general one, but records show that Palmer had only four small vessels at the time, all of which were engaged in the Bass Strait and coastal trade, and none are mentioned as trading to New Zealand. 5 Palmer himself had been only eighteen months in the colony. The mention of his whaling receives no support from any other source. Turnbull, too, who visited Sydney in the latter end of 1803, mentions Bass Strait only, as the scene of the Sydney sealing. He describes the gangs located on the islands as being moved from place to place by attendant craft as the seals became scarce. Nothing is said about New Zealand sealing. 6 In the added matter written as late as 1813, Turnbull refers to the subject thus: "When the sealing flagged, in some degree in Bass's Straits, they (the sealers) turned their thoughts to the neighbouring island of New Zealand, where the seals were known to abound. Every bay, creek, and river was examined by them in quest of these objects, and the fruit of their labour most amply recompensed them. A most constant and friendly intercourse, mutually advantageous to them and the natives, took place." 7 It must be surmised that the Frenchman meant that the

whaling was off the New Zealand coast, the *sealing* in Bass Strait. In any case he cannot be quoted as an authority for the proposition that sealing had commenced on the New Zealand coast at this early date.

The first firm to attempt the wild New Zealand coast with the small craft of that day, appears to have been Kable and Underwood. The Sydney returns show, that this enterprising firm had, at that time, two schooners engaged in the seal trade in Bass Strait—the Governor King of 38 tons and the Endeavour of 31. They had also a sloop of 24 tons called the Diana.⁸ The Endeavour was the pioneer vessel of this little fleet, having been registered in 1801, the Governor King in 1803;⁹ the Endeavour was also the first to engage in the New Zealand trade.

On Monday 18th April, 1803, the Endeavour, Captain Oliphant, sailed for Bass Strait. In six days after leaving Port Jackson she arrived at the Sisters and after landing her sealers, sailed for Dusky Bay,¹⁰ which she reached on 9th May.¹¹ Finding few seals there she then visited Breaksea and Solander Islands. At an island near Breaksea she had the misfortune to lose one of her men. In a high sea a boat's crew was endeavouring to land when the stern of the boat was suddenly whirled round on to a ledge of rocks, and the boat immediately upset. Two men saved themselves by means of the oars, and two others got on the keel and were rescued. One man was drowned. The boat was afterwards got on shore with her stern post staved in.

Although in the vicinity of Foveaux Strait, Captain Oliphant does not appear to have suspected its existence. He was an observant man too, as the following report extracted from the Sydney Gazette of the time shows. "On the south side of the West Cape, four entrances were discernible, which he concluded to be the mouths of Harbours; between the two Northernmost of which is a small island, white and apparently chalky. Off the South Cape, Mr Oliphant experienced much bad weather, and one heavy gale, which continued several hours, and arose in the forenoon, obliged him to lay the vessel to. At 2 in the afternoon an island was seen at only 3 miles distant, lying by observation in

latitude 47° 58' S. and long. 166° 30' E., bearing S.W. by S. from the South Cape. Being in want of wood and water they sent a boat on shore, but found it to be barren and dry. They afterwards put into Launching Cove, where the vessel anchored, and a party went in quest of seals, but with little success. On shore they suffered much from severe cold, and incessant falls of snow, hail, or rain. Her freight consists of 2200 skins, all of which were procured with extreme difficulty and hardship."

There is reason to believe that the instructions given to Oliphant to go to Dusky were not communicated to the sealing gangs. The firm's gang for instance, at Knight's Island, did not know of his movements. The Good Intent arriving from that island reported that the Endeavour had not reached there when she left.¹² At that time the Endeavour must have been heading for Dusky. It was natural that her movements in breaking new ground, and ground in a measure pledged to Bass, should be kept secret. It is worthy of notice, that Cook's vessel, when he discovered Dusky, the first vessel wrecked in Dusky, and the first Bass Strait sealer to visit Dusky, were all named the Endeavour.

On 7th October 1803, the Endeavour returned to Sydney after an absence of six months. At what place in New Zealand Captain Oliphant fell in with natives is not stated but he reports "the natives of New Zealand to be very friendly, and ready to render every assistance he could possibly require." This was pleasant news to the seafaring men of Sydney who still had a lingering fear of the ferocity of the New Zealander. Governor Phillip had done a good deal to inculcate this, when he asked from the English authorities special powers to impose a more than death sentence, namely to deport the condemned man to New Zealand to be handed over as food for the natives.¹³ The editorial comment on Oliphant's report reads. "This peaceable and amicable disposition has manifested itself in several instances, and we doubt not that upon the return of Treena, who was brought hither and taken back by Captain Rhodes in the Alexander, his report of the hospitality he met with here will be productive of a confidence that may prove highly beneficial to the British Mariner in the

Pacific Ocean." Captain Rhodes commanded a whaler, one of a small fleet which regularly visited the Bay of Islands for provisions, and it was no uncommon thing to take natives on board while whaling or for a trip to Sydney.

The skins procured were all purchased by Captain McLennan of the brig *Dart*, for four shillings and sixpence each. This vessel sailed from Sydney on 24th October for the coast of Peru.¹⁴ The skins were preserved by being salted, a method necessarily resorted to, as the weather and other circumstances prevented their being cured in the usual way, this "has long since been established as an excellent succedaneum. Report declares them to be high in estimation at Home, and consequently gives new stimulus to the war against the pups and wigs who rejoice but little at a ship in sight." So said the only Sydney journalist of that day.

A fragment from the records of this trip of the *Endeavour* turns up in a most unexpected quarter. In 1812 the following advertisement was inserted in the Sydney paper¹⁵ :—

"To the Public.

"Charles Frederick Bradford, commonly called Charles Bradford, was in 1801 a Seaman on board the *Prince of 98 Guns*; in 1802 he entered on board the *Bridgewater*, Indiaman, Cap. Palmer, which Ship he left at Sydney Cove, New South Wales, and embarked on board a Vessel destined for the Seal Fishery, New Zealand 1803. He was known to Mr Kable, Sydney Town, Port Jackson. If the said C. F. Bradford be now living, and will apply to Caton and Brummell, of Aldersgate-street, London, he will hear of something greatly to his advantage; or, if dead, any Particulars or Information concerning him will be thankfully received by them.

"Any Information left at the Gazette Office relative to the above will be thankfully received and forwarded."

It is most unfortunate that when returns of arrivals and departures were prepared by the Naval Officer at Sydney for transmission to England, no notice was taken of the schooners

and sloops locally owned. We are indebted solely to the press of the day for information of the doings of the local craft. Everything was under the direction of naval or military officers and the last thing thought of was the local production of wealth, to make the settlement self-supporting. The place was now 15 years old and about as non-productive as if in its second or third year. The sealers, whose crafts were not recognised by the Naval Officer, were about the only portion of the inhabitants who were wealth producing. As the sealing trade with which the small vessels were engaged was a Sydney Bass Strait trade, the same as the Endeavour was occupied in, one would suppose that her New Zealand trip was followed by others. We cannot however say what vessels, if any, of the Bass Strait fleet visited New Zealand after this date, because of a vagueness, which gathers around the records of shipping to New Zealand owing to the fact that a vessel would first clear for one of the islands in Bass Strait and then go on to New Zealand. In such a case her designation in the official or other intimation would be the island above referred to or simply "sealing."

The next recorded visit to Dusky is that of an over-sea vessel—a whaler called the Scorpion. On the 30th March, 1804, she reached Sydney. She was a vessel of 343 tons and was commanded by Captain Dagg. Hers had been an eventful voyage. On 24th June 1803, she had sailed from England with Letters of Marque carrying 14 guns and 32 men. Before reaching St. Helena she captured two French whalers whose captains did not know of the war then raging. About the beginning of December 1803, she sailed from St. Helena to New Zealand, and in Dusky Bay secured some sealskins. When she landed in Sydney, she had on board 4759 skins, 20 barrels of sperm oil, and 18 tons of salt.¹⁶ She sailed once or twice out and in to Port Jackson before going Home, a full ship. The captain leaves his name in Dagg Sound.

On 9th February 1805, the Contest, a new schooner of 45 tons, Johnson, master, registered as late as 1804, and belonging to Kable and Co.'s fleet, arrived from New Zealand with 5000 seal skins. She had evidently called amongst other places at Dusky for on Sunday 14th April—in the Sydney

Gazette, in these days published on Sunday—occurs the following advertisement.

Notice.

Two small boats having been left at New Zealand by Mr Oliphant, Master of the Endeavour, in January last, all Masters of vessels and others frequenting or occasionally touching at Dusky Bay, or its vicinity, on the said coast are hereby strictly cautioned not to take away, or in any manner soever damage either of the said boats, as they will otherwise become responsible to the owners for any act contrary to the tenor of this Notice."

The following Sunday the notice was changed to read "Contest" in place of "Endeavour," and the date "Sydney April 13" was added.

The present writer thinks, although in the intimation of her arrival Johnson is mentioned as captain, that Oliphant who had all along commanded the Endeavour, took the Contest for her pioneer trip. This is borne out by an advertisement, in the Sydney papers of October 1804, for a new captain for the Endeavour, then returning from Bass Strait.¹⁷ With this larger boat Kable and Co. had again attempted the New Zealand sealing trade, and on the voyage had called at Dusky where two boats were left in view of a permanent station; that the mistake in the first advertisement was caused by the Endeavour having been Oliphant's old boat, and was corrected in the following issue. The words "frequently or occasionally touching" seem to imply that Dusky was visited by some vessels, *regularly*, to catch seals, and by others *occasionally* who called in when whaling—as in the case of the Scorpion—or when bound for a distant part of the world trading—as in the case of the Britannia. On 28th February, 1807, the Contest was wrecked a few miles to the southward of Port Stevens, near the mouth of the Hunter River. Her crew fortunately were saved, but all cargo was lost in the tremendous surf.¹⁸

Kable and Co. pushed on the Dusky Bay trade. On 26th April, 1805, they despatched their largest sailing vessel—the Governor King, 75 tons—to New Zealand. Dusky Bay is not

mentioned as her destination but we have seen that they had a station and two boats there. In addition to this the Governor King was wrecked at Hunter River on May of the following year, and when describing the shattered condition of the wreck the following was reported. "Great part of her freight of pork was saved, but little else except about two tons out of twelve tons of iron taken in at Dusky Bay in lieu of ballast, picked up from the wreck of the Endeavour."¹⁰ This quotation is interesting as being the first newspaper reference to the wreck of the Endeavour. It also shows us that Bass had not taken away everything when 12 tons of her iron could now be got for ballast. The Governor King was lost close to the wreck of the Francis, one of the first Dusky Bay visitors, and near to the bones of the Contest, her Dusky Bay predecessor.

Another colonial sealing vessel, the sloop Speedwell of 18 tons, owned by John Grono, a name afterwards to be famous in south New Zealand sealing, had been stranded in October 1804. She was got off by Andrew Thompson the shipowner and in the second week of August 1805, he sent her on a sealing expedition to the coast of New Zealand. From the voyage she returned in September 1806, fairly successful in procuring seals, but unfortunate in losing three men. The scene of the catastrophe is not stated.¹⁰ Grono and Thompson will reappear in the narrative later on.

The opportunity is here taken of referring to the labour regulations of the year 1805 dealing with the sealing trade. In these regulations we have about the earliest labour legislation in Australasia. Owing to the distress which prevailed in the sealing gangs of Kable and Co., and Campbell and Co., in Bass Strait, regulations were made compelling owners to provide food depots. In September of that year no colonial vessel was allowed to leave Sydney without entering into a bond to secure the abovementioned provision, and limits were specified within which the colonial craft had to confine themselves. These limits prevented them navigating outside of lat. 43° 39' S,¹¹ and thus visiting the south of New Zealand and the southern islands; for what reason the writer has been unable to ascertain. It seems the stranger when we consider the rich harvest there was within the colonists' grasp, and

the fact that north of lat. 43° 39' S. there were few seals to be got in New Zealand. There is no doubt that sealing vessels visiting New Zealand would go to the south, limits or no limits, but it is significant that during the next few years little mention is made of sealing by colonial vessels in the prohibited area. Appearances would indicate that it was done but not made public. As showing the quantities of seals in the prohibited ground, comments on Australia by Sir Joseph Banks dated 4th June, 1806, were to the following effect: "The island of Van Dieman, the southwest coast of New Holland, and the southern part of New Zealand, produce seals of all kinds in quantities at present almost innumerable. Their stations on rocks or in bays have remain'd unmolested since the Creation. The beach is encumber'd with their quantities, and those who visit their haunts have less trouble in killing them than the servants of the victualling office have who kill hogs in a pen with mallets." **

REFERENCES.

CHAPTER VIII.

- | | |
|---|--|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. H.R., Vol. V., p. 311. 2. H.R., Vol. V., p. 8. 3. H.R., Vol. V., p. 832. 4. Pinkerton's Voyages, Vol. XI., p. 905, and Voyage of Discovery of the Geographe, the Naturaliste, and the Casuarina, by Peron, Paris, (1807), Vol. 1, p. 373. 5. H.R., Vol. V., p. 311. 6. Turnbull's Voyage, 2nd ed'n., (1813), p. 416. 7. Turnbull's Voyage, p. 505. 8. H.R., Vol. V., p. 311. 9. H.R., Vol. V., p. 741. 10. S.G., Aug. 28, 1803. | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 11. And for account of voyage, S.G., Oct. 9, 16 and 23, 1803. 12. S.G., May 15, 1803. 13. H.R., Vol. I., pt. 2, p. 53. 14. H.R., Vol. V., p. 270. 15. S.G., Nov. 7, 1812. 16. S.G., Apl. 1, 1804. 17. S.G., Oct. 28, 1804. 18. S.G., Mar. 15, 1807. 19. S.G., May 11, 1806. 20. S.G., Dec. 9, 1804, Aug. 11, 1805, and Sep. 28, 1806. 21. H.R., Vol. V., p. 696. 22. H.R., Vol. VI., p. 88. |
|---|--|

CHAPTER IX.

THE SEALING ISLANDS, 1804 TO 1808.

Naturally the first visits of the sealers were to the mainland or to the islands in its immediate vicinity. It was not long, however, before the outlying islands were exploited, and robbed of their rich harvest. The first to arrive upon the scene were those who came the greatest distance, stray vessels of the American fleet of sealers. They had already been on our coast as far back as 1797, relieving the remnant of the Endeavour's crew, and now in 1804 they appeared again in the vicinity of New Zealand for the purpose of obtaining skins for the China market.

A brig of 99 tons, called the Union, was, in 1803, sent out by Messrs Fanning and Co. of New York, under the command of Captain J. Pendleton, to follow up the discoveries of Vancouver in Australia, and secure a cargo of seal skins. At Border's (supposed to be Kangaroo) Island, her crew built another vessel called the Independence, of some 40 tons, and these two vessels made for Sydney, whence after refitting they set out together on a sealing expedition.

On this trip Pendleton re-discovered the Island of South Antipodes, as the Americans called the Penantipodes. Large rookeries of seals were visible, but there being no harbour in which to anchor vessels, an officer and eleven men were put ashore as a sealing gang, and Pendleton returned to Sydney intending to revisit his men when they had procured a cargo.¹

Fanning in his "*Voyages*" unfortunately does not give us the date of this interesting event, but we learn from other sources² that the Union reached Sydney on 29th June, and the Independence commanded by F. Smith on 1st July, 1804. When the Independence sailed from Sydney is not stated, but the Union had called there on 6th January and 9th March, sailing again on 12th January, and 28th April:

in the former case for Norfolk Island, in the latter for Bass Strait. The sealing gang placed at the Antipodes by the Union must therefore have been put there about the beginning of June 1804, and was thus the first sealing gang stationed on the islands.

When the Union returned to Sydney, Pendleton had 12,000 to 14,000 seal skins which he had procured at Kangaroo Island. These he left in the store of Mr S. Lord, and without considering the necessities of his men at the Antipodes entered into a contract to proceed to the Fiji Islands, and take thence a cargo of sandal wood for China. At Tongataboo, however, on 1st October, Pendleton and several others met their death at the hands of the natives, and the Union returned to Sydney under the command of D. Wright. the first officer.

On 12th November, Wright again assayed the voyage, but this time the vessel was lost at the Fiji Islands and all the crew massacred.

Then followed, according to Fanning, a most remarkable series of events: The author prints here for the reader's information Fanning's account:

"Upon the arrival of this sad information at Sydney, Mr Lord chartered a ship and proceeded with her to the Island of Antipodes. At this place, the officers and crew whom Captain Pendleton had left, had taken and cured rising of sixty thousand pure fur seal skins, a parcel of very superior quality: these, from information since obtained, were received on board Mr Lord's ship, who thence proceeded to Canton and disposed of his valuable cargo at good prices, the proceeds being invested in China goods, he accompanied to an eastern port in the United States: these were also sold, and Mr Lord off to Europe with the amount of proceeds, before the agent for the owners of the Union was made acquainted with the transaction: thus unfortunately terminating the Union's voyage, her owners never receiving either for the skins taken from South Antipodes, or for the fourteen thousand left by Captain P. in Mr Lord's charge at Sydney, one farthing. Nor was the remainder of the brig's company more fortunate than their messmates, for nothing was ever

heard of the few who after delivering the skins to Mr L. embarked on board the little schooner and sailed for Sydney, in New South Wales: it is supposed they were either lost in a heavy gale at sea, or were wrecked on some unknown reef or island. Thus terminated a voyage than which, none was ever commenced with more encouraging prospects, and thus went her crew, than whom, more hardy and resolute spirits never strode a vessel's deck."

Further details of this remarkable narrative are available, but they scarcely bear out this story of the iniquity of the Sydney merchant, Lord. The Independence, under the command of Joseph Townshend, reached Sydney from Norfolk Island on 23rd April, 1805, and it is probable that the news of the fate of the Union was brought by her. Two days afterwards a Nantucket vessel called the Favorite, 245 tons, commanded by John Paddock, arrived from the Crozets, and on 11th June sailed in company with the Independence from Sydney.³

That the Favorite and the Independence sailed for the Penantipodes we know from the following report on the return to Sydney of the Favorite,—

"On Monday (10th March, 1806) arrived the American ship Favorite, Captain Paddock, from the Penantipodes with skins.

"We are sorry to report the probable loss of the American schooner Independence, which vessel sailed from hence ten months since in company with the Favorite, for the same destination: and was for some time conjectured to be travelling on discovery of advantageous situations for procuring seal: but has unfortunately never since been seen or heard of. This vessel belonged to Captain Pendleton of the Union, whose visit to Tongataboo proved fatal to Mr Boston and himself: and whose vessel afterwards, under the command of Mr Unght, the Chief Officer, foundered at her anchors with the supposed loss of all her people.

"The Independence sailed from hence, under command of Captain Tounshend, a young man very much respected for his talents, with 22 men, 11 of whom were happily taken on board the Favorite the day before they parted company."

The cargo of the *Favorite* is shown from the same source to have been 60,000 seal skins, and the place at which they were obtained is described as the "E Coast of New Zealand.

Landing on the Penantipodes about the beginning of June, 1804, and being relieved not earlier than the beginning of July, 1805, the unfortunate party consisting of one officer and eleven men must have been on these desolate rocks for over a year. After leaving the Penantipodes the *Favorite* had evidently sailed for the East Coast of New Zealand and spent the remainder of her time sealing along the coast, thus accounting for the very lengthy voyage.

On the 29th July the *Favorite* sailed for Canton with 32,000 skins, so that Fanning is not correct in stating that the cargo obtained at the Penantipodes was taken to Canton and disposed of at good prices. The other 28,000 was probably the parcel set aside to send to England in the *Sydney*. If Lord intended a swindle he would scarcely risk taking the cargo to Canton, selling it there, and with the proceeds going to an eastern port of the United States: much less would he venture to visit the States in a vessel belonging to Nantucket. The point established beyond doubt is, that Captain John Paddock in the *Favorite* of Nantucket lifted 60,000 skins from the Penantipodes, and took them to Sydney: thence he sailed for Canton with 32,000, and selling them at that port, returned with a China cargo to the United States. Theft on Lord's part would involve Paddock in the swindle, and the *Favorite* was well known in Nantucket, and as the captain belonged to a leading family there, the idea of such a crime is opposed to the doctrine of probability.

The islands next to be visited by Bass Strait sealing vessels were the Snares and the Bounties. In October 1804, the Bass Strait seal islands were visited by two American vessels, the *Perseverance* and the *Pilgrim*, under the command of Captain Amasa Delano.* At Kents Bay, disturbances took place between the Americans and the sealing gang of Kable and Underwood. The account given by the man in charge of the sealers makes the Americans out to be the greatest scoundrels unhung,⁵ while the report of the American cap-

tain indicates that the gallows was too good a fate for the Sydney men. Delano publishes an account of his travels, and from it we learn that on 24th October, he sailed from the islands for the South-West Cape of New Zealand. He made the Snares on 3rd November, and says after mentioning Vancouver as the discoverer: "I know of no other person except him and myself, who has ever seen them." In this Delano was mistaken, as Captain Raven when returning to Sydney in the *Britannia* in 1793, sighted the islands. Delano thus records his visit: "At three o'clock P.M. we discovered the Snares, bearing north east by east, eight or nine miles distant. At six P.M. we came near to them, and it blowing strong from the westward, we did not have so good an opportunity to examine them as we could wish, but from what we could ascertain there was no safe shelter for a vessel any where amongst these islands. If there is any, it must be on the south or south east side of the large one, which had some appearance of smooth water under its lee. I think if the weather should be pleasant enough for a boat to go in and explore the cluster, that an anchoring place might be found; but the weather here is so bad, and the winds blow so strong and constantly from the westerly quarter, that it would be difficult to keep in a station for a sufficient length of time to effect this object. We found them, as captain Vancouver says, "a cluster of craggy islands," and they did not appear to be capable of affording anything except it might be a few seals, which I think probably they do, as we saw a number swimming in the water near the ship. If it were the case that seals are on these islands, it would be very difficult to obtain them. We did not observe any dangers any where near them. We saw seven small islands, and found them to be rightly laid down by captain Vancouver."

"After we had examined the Snares as much as the weather would permit us to do, we proceeded to the eastward with a strong westerly wind, and visited Bounty Islands."

"November 7, 1804 at six A.M. we made the Bounty Islands with an intention of examining them. It may be expected that we might have had a better opportunity to examine and describe them than lieutenant Bligh had; but

when we made them it was blowing a strong gale from the westward, with a large sea, and by no means clear weather; under which circumstances we made the islands about four or five leagues distant, and ran down within about one mile of them. We discovered broken water close under our lee bow, and immediately luffed to the southward of it; but as we passed, it fairly broke, and convinced us that there was not water enough for our ship on it. The breakers lie about south west from the body of Bounty Islands, and will not always show themselves."

"We saw several other breakers to the south and west side, lying off from the main group; but we were convinced that it is a very dangerous place for a ship to come near to. The . . . description given by lieutenant Bligh is very correct. They cannot afford any kind of vegetable production. We saw shags and gulls, and a few seals round them; and I believe they are all they afford. It will be proper to observe, that we had soundings three or four leagues to the westward of these islands, and had good reason to think that they could be had at that distance all round them. It would be very dangerous for a ship to fall in with these islands in the night, or in thick weather, although she will have the advantage of soundings, which will apprise them of approaching danger, if due attention is paid."

"After passing them we continued our course."

So far the prospects of success at the Snares and the Bounties did not much encourage the Bass Strait sealers to land gangs. The great harvest of the localities already worked though reduced in quantity had not yet become so small as to make the unattractive appearance and dangerous approaches of the southern islands worth overcoming. At the time of this visit of Delano's the gang of the American ship *Union* was on the neighbouring *Antipodes*.

Naturally the *Penantipodes* became an object of desire to the sealers and vessels were fitted out for these islands.

On 29th July, 1805, the brig *Venus*, 45 tons, *Calcutta* built, carrying 14 men and commanded by Captain William Stewart, cleared for Bass Strait in ballast.* As a matter of fact she sailed for the *Penantipodes*. William Stewart is

presumably the man after whom the southern island of this colony is called, and this so far as the author can determine, was his first connection with New Zealand. On 24th January, 1806, the *Venus* returned with only a few skins, having left Captain Stewart with a sealing gang on the island. This was the second sealing gang stationed there. Stewart remained for some time, until taken off by a whaling vessel called the *Star*, commanded by James Birnie, and on 21st June, 1806, was landed at Sydney. Prior to this, probably as a result of the rich haul of the *Union's* gang, a visit had been arranged for, to the *Penantipodes*, by a whaler called the *Aurora* (302 tons), commanded by Andrew Meyrick and when she sailed on 30th June she was supposed to have cleared for these islands, but for some reason not given, possibly because of Stewart's return, she appears to have changed her destination.⁷

On 30th July, 1806, the *Star*, this time under the command of Captain Wilkinson⁸ sailed for New Zealand and the *Penantipodes*. She reached Whangaroa and when there, a chief named Pipi requested the captain to take his son to Europe, to procure material for the tribe and to see the King. The youth accordingly sailed with Captain Wilkinson to the seal fishery at the *Penantipodes*. While on board the young man received the name of George, a name that goes down to posterity in New Zealand history. Returning from the islands he was restored to his friends.⁹ On 29th December, 1806, the *Star* reached Sydney with 14,000 seal skins. In the Records she is described as coming from "the South'rd Islands," in the press as from "the sealing islands."¹⁰ The subsequent history of George, his punishment by the captain of the *Boyd*, and the massacre of the crew of that vessel in Whangaroa Harbour in 1809, in revenge for his ill-treatment, are matters outside the scope of this work. Maori tradition as given to the writer by Mr Hone Heke, M.H.R., thus modifies Captain Dillon's version given above in 1829. The chief's name was Kira and his father having been to England and seen King George, had given the name of King George Kira to the lad.

Amongst the difficulties which beset the sealing trade in these early years, one of the most remarkable was a legal one, which arose out of the monopoly enjoyed by the East India

Company. In 1805, the ship *Lady Barlow* took a cargo of oil and skins to England, which was seized by the officers of the East India Company and the sale delayed for four months. To avoid a similar fate for the *Sydney*, which was expected to arrive during 1806, Campbell and Co.'s agent applied for and obtained permission to land that vessel's cargo upon arrival. Then a Bill to prevent a repetition of the *Lady Barlow* incident was introduced into the House of Commons. The Bill itself is not available but Banks' comments upon it show that it excluded southern New Zealand from the sealing trade. Banks called attention to this in the following words:—"Why any southern boundary should be set to the enterprise of our successful sealers does not appear. The limit proposed by the Bill of 43° 9' S. will prevent them from visiting the south part of New Zealand, where treasures of seal-skins and oil have been accumulating for ages, and the little island of Penantipode, which has furnished 30,000 of the seal-skins and a proportionate quantity of the seal oil laden on board the expected ship (the *Sydney*) which their Lordships have been graciously pleased to admit to an entry here, to the no small encouragement of the southern fishery."¹¹

While the Bass Strait sealers were establishing trade connection with all the known islands of the New Zealand group, another island was added to the list. The Ocean, a whaling vessel of 401 tons, belonging to the Messrs Enderby and under the command of Captain Abraham Bristow, was sailing from Van Diemen's Land round Cape Horn, when on 18th August, 1806, several islands were discovered which were called by the captain Lord Auckland's Group. The extract from Bristow's log is as follows:—"Moderate and clear: at daylight saw land, bearing west by compass, extending round to the north as far as N.E. by N., distant from the nearest part about nine leagues. The island or islands, as being the first discoverer, I shall call Lord Auckland's (my friend through my father), and is situated according to my observation at noon in latitude 50° 48' S., and long. 166° 42' E., by a distance of the sun and moon, I had at half past 10 A.M. The land is of moderate height, and from its appearance I have no doubt but it will afford a good harbour in the north

end, and I should suppose lies in about the latitude of 50° 21' S., and its greatest extent is in a N.W. and S.E. direction. This place I should suppose abounds with seals, and sorry I am that the time and the lumbered state of my ship do not allow me to examine."¹²

The year 1807 saw the Penantipodes trade still the objective of sealing craft and we find the Commerce recorded in the official records as returning from the Penantipodes on 8th April. The owner and master of this vessel was James Birnie, evidently the same man who brought Stewart back from the island and who owned the Star.¹³

Bristow, after reaching England in the Ocean, returned in 1807 to the Auckland Islands, in a vessel called the Sarah, belonging to the same firm of Enderby which owned the Ocean. On this visit he took formal possession of the islands.¹⁴ Before departing he liberated on shore several pigs.

Presumably on this second visit the position of the various points was ascertained by Bristow and afterwards published in 1816 as follows:—¹⁵

	Latitude.	Longitude.
Disappointment Island, (Centre)	50.38.30	165.52
North-West Cape	50.31	166
Cape Bennet or S.E. Cape ...	50.53	166.17
Green Island (low)	50.47	166.26.30
Ocean's Isles, The Western I. ...	50.37	166.25
N.E. Cape of Enderby Island ...	50.32.30	166.28
Bristow's Rock	50.22	166.21

It is matter of more than passing interest that on her return from the trip the Sarah was, on 26th October, 1809, captured by a privateer called the Revenge. The captor was in turn herself taken by the Helena and the Sarah was recaptured by the Enterprise on 10th November, and sent either to Lisbon or Cadiz.¹⁶

In 1807 the Santa Anna, a Spanish prize of 220 tons, owned by Messrs Lord, Kable and Underwood and commanded by William Moody, made a voyage to the Bounties on a sealing expedition, which was followed by consequences of great importance in the evangelization of the natives of New Zealand. The Santa Anna sailed from Sydney on 10th July,

1807, for "the Seal Fishery, and to proceed to London."¹⁷ She made for the Bay of Islands, New Zealand, and there took on board a native Chief—Ruatarā. Ruatarā had had some previous experience on board ship. When only eighteen years of age he had shipped on board the *Argo*, whaler, to get a view of Sydney. He did duty as a sailor for twelve months and was finally discharged and cheated by the captain out of his pay. To get home from Sydney, he shipped on the *Albion*, served for six months and was returned to the Bay of Islands. Ruatarā now wanted to get to England, to see the King and to secure his object shipped on board the *Santa Anna*. From the Bay of Islands the *Santa Anna* sailed for the Bounties.¹⁸ On arrival there Ruatarā and thirteen others—a Maori, two Otaheitans and ten Europeans—of the crew were put on shore to kill seals, while the vessel proceeded for supplies to Norfolk Island and New Zealand, leaving the fourteen men with very little water, salt provisions, or bread. In May, 1808, the owners in Sydney received word from Captain Moody, dated from Norfolk Island calling their attention to the fact that the gang must now be in need of relief. To allay fears it was stated in the press, by way of reply, that the *Commerce* had sailed from Sydney on 6th February to relieve the gang, and by this time they had been provided for.¹⁹

The *Santa Anna* reached Sydney from Norfolk Island on 8th June and sailed on 14th October for the sealing isles from whence she was to proceed to Great Britain.²⁰

About five months after the *Santa Anna* left, the *King George*, whaler under the command of Captain Chace, called at the islands, and a few weeks later the *Santa Anna* returned to her gang. During all this time Ruatarā and his companions, there being no water and scarcely any food to be procured on the island, had undergone such extreme sufferings from thirst and hunger, that three of them had died. They had, however, procured about eight thousand skins; after taking these on board, the vessel set out on her voyage for England, the great object for which Ruatarā had originally shipped. He had, it seems, long entertained the most ardent desire to see *King George*, and this desire had sustained him through all his hardships. When in July 1809, the *Santa*

Anna at last arrived in the River Thames, Ruatara found that he was as far from his object as ever. Instead of seeing the King he was scarcely permitted to go on shore and never spent a night out of the ship. Making enquiries how he could see the King he was told sometimes that he would never be able to find the house, and at other times that no one was permitted to see His Majesty. This disappointment distressed him so much, that together with the toils and privations he had already sustained, it brought on a dangerous illness. Meanwhile the master of the Santa Anna, when asked by the Maori chief for wages and clothing, refused to give him any, telling him that he would send him home by the Ann, a vessel taken up by the Government to convey convicts to New South Wales. Captain Clark of the Ann, however, refused to receive him unless the master of the Santa Anna would provide him with clothing. The Revd. Samuel Marsden happened to be a passenger to Sydney by the Ann, and, finding out the condition of Ruatara, took him under his charge and by kind ministrings nursed him back to life and strength again. Before the vessel reached Rio, Ruatara was able to do his work, as a sailor, in a manner equal to the best of them. The Ann reached Sydney on 17th February, 1810.²¹

In Sydney the Maori Chief resided with Marsden and devoted his time to studying agriculture. When he left in the Frederick on 30th November, he took with him various seeds and implements. E. Bunker, the Captain of the Frederick, appears to have been an inhuman man, taking the natives to the Bay of Islands and when within sight of their homes refusing to land them, sailing instead to Norfolk Island and stranding them there. The Frederick fell in with an American cruiser and was captured. Ruatara had not yet reached his home. The whaler Ann touched at Norfolk Island and took the Maori Chief to Sydney, once more he was under the care of Marsden. Finally he got the chance of a trip to New Zealand in another whaler, also called the Ann, and after working his passage for five months, was landed at the Bay of Islands, among his own people. The friendship, formed with Marsden, held good until his death. In his position as a chief he did more, to make possible Marsden's

mission to New Zealand than any other native. In fact it may safely be said that it could not have been established had it not been for the friendship of Ruatara. And all this was brought about by the desire of the Maori Chief to see King George, and his visit to the Bounties, as a sealer, to earn the money to gratify his ambition.

On 6th February, 1808, the Commerce was sent from Sydney to visit the southern islands.¹⁹ She returned on 10th July of the same year with about 3000 skins. For an account of her voyage we are indebted to the records of a pakeha Maori named John Marmon who gave his experiences to an Auckland journalist in the year 1881. Some of his dates according to the records do not, when compared with the Historical Records of New South Wales, appear quite correct, but there is no reason to doubt the substantial accuracy of the narrative.

His account is as follows:—²⁰

“Our destination was the Auckland Islands. Some of the Sydney merchants having heard of the vast numbers of seals that congregated there, determined to fit out a vessel for the trade. The Commerce accordingly was chartered, and Captain Sirone, a careful trustworthy sailor, placed in charge over a crew of picked men. As the voyage might be a lengthy one, considerable stores had to be shipped, and I thought it incredible that a party, only thirty in all, could consume such an amount of food. The loading being completed, and all other arrangements satisfactorily made, the Commerce weighed anchor on the 6th November 1807, made sail, and worked slowly out of Port Jackson.

“The first land sighted was on the 12th day, when the North Cape of New Zealand loomed dimly on the horizon, next the Chatham Isles, on the 22nd. day, Bounty Island on 31st, and on the 44th. day with a fair wind, we ran for our destination. On the whole it had been a good passage, and the skipper was comparatively satisfied. All was now bustle and confusion. The anchor was let down, the sails furled, and the sealing party began to look out their weapons and supplies.

“We arrived at the Auckland Islands about the 20th.

December, in mid-summer, when the flush of beauty was on all Nature. But we were not alone. Two sealing gangs were on the grounds before us, and as they appeared to consider Enderby Island (where seals mostly congregated) their exclusive property, there seemed likely to be opposition to the landing of our party. It was necessary to resort to stratagem to effect our object, and, as all is fair in love and war, Captain Sirone betook himself to the following means:—Accompanied by a single sailor, he went ashore and represented his mission to be, not sealing, but search after a missing vessel—the *Fanny Morris*, Captain Adams, that had been out from Sydney, now, eight months, at the same time inviting the gangs to accompany him aboard and get grog. Their suspicions allayed, the men consented to do so, and no sooner were they comfortably settled down for a jolly good carouse, with some of our sailors told off for the purpose and instructed to ply them with drugged rum, than down went our boats, and our sealing party started for shore. The landing was managed, however undignified a part we may have played in it, but the devil looks after his own. In this transaction I was completely nowhere. Not putting much faith in the diplomatic capacity of ten years' experience of the world, the skipper had ordered me to be locked in his cabin lest I should be "pumped" as to our mission by some of the strangers. So I was perforce content to listen to the revelry within and bustle without, biting my nails with vexation that I had not seen the world ten years before I did.

"After waiting for a few weeks in our anchorage to establish more friendly relations between the rival gangs, and succeeding therein, I am glad to say, we set sail, also after seals, but on our homeward bound journey. After sighting the Trapps, off the S.E. Coast of New Zealand, we bore up for the Chatham Islands, where we cast anchor and proceeded to trade for seal skins. Besides several sealing gangs stationed here, we found a considerable number of the natives, called in their own tongue *Moriori*, who seemed in dialect, colour, and customs to resemble the Maori, as I afterwards found him. One extraordinary thing I observed here, was that in many places the island (Chatham) was on fire;

not a mere surface conflagration, but a steady underground combustion. There are large formations of peat, one of the sealers told me, and these, having become ignited, have burned steadily for years and may yet be burning for all I know."

Amongst other vessels which sailed for the sealing islands about this time were the *Perseverance* on 8th August, and the *Fox* on 30th September, 1808.

REFERENCES.

CHAPTER IX.

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. Fanning's Voyages, New York (1833) pp. 314 to 329. | 12. Ross' Voyage, 1839-43, (1847), Vol. I., p. 137. |
| 2. H.R., Vol. V., p. 532. | 13. H.R., Vol. VI., p. 271. |
| 3. H.R., Vol. V., pp. 745-6. | 14. Ross' Voyage, Vol. I., p. 138. |
| 4. Delano's Voyages and Travels, (1817), p. 472. | 15. Oriental Navigator Tables (1816), p. 87. |
| 5. H.R., Vol. V., p. 519. | 16. Lloyd's List, Nov. 28 and Dec. 5, 1809. |
| 6. H.R., Vol. V., p. 746. | 17. H.R., Vol. VI., p. 405. |
| 7. S.G., June 1, and July 6 and 13, 1806. | 18. New Zealanders (1830), p. 77; Proc. C.M.S., Vol. V.; Nicholas' Voyage to New Zealand, Vol. II., p. 380. |
| 8. H.R., Vol. VI., p. 128. | 19. S.G., May 15, 1808. |
| 9. Dillon's Discovery of the Fate of La Perouse, (1829), Vol. I., p. 215. | 20. S.G., Oct. 23, 1808. |
| 10. H.R., Vol. VI., p. 234. | 21. H.R., Vol. VII., p. 303. |
| 11. H.R., Vol. VI., p. 108. | 22. Auckland Star, Nov. 19, 1861. |

CHAPTER X.

STEWART ISLAND EXPLOITED, 1809 AND 1810.

On 1st October, 1807 a vessel called the *Pegasus* which was afterwards to be the recorded pioneer of Foveaux Strait, and to give her name to the southern port of Stewart Island, reached Port Jackson.¹ She had been a prize of the frigate *Cornwallis*, and in the early part of 1808 it had been intended to send the deposed Governor, Bligh, to England in her. Later on, in the same year she was purchased by Thomas Moore of Sydney, and fitted out to engage in the sealing trade. On 15th May she advertised for men to proceed on a sealing expedition. Her captain's name was Bunker, probably the same man who in 1791 contemplated visiting Dusky from Sydney, and who afterwards commanded the whaling ship *Albion*. Captain Bunker was on the eve of sailing for New Zealand, when a gang of desperadoes seized upon the brig *Harrington* in Farm Cove, Sydney. The next day, 17th May, the *Pegasus* was chartered, and in twenty-four hours fitted with ballast, provisions, and stands of arms, and on the 18th she sailed in pursuit of the pirates. The *Pegasus* made for the Bay of Islands and then to Fiji. Her mission was, however, unsuccessful, and on 22nd July, 1808, she returned to Sydney.²

A month was spent in fitting the *Pegasus* once more for the sealing expedition previously contemplated, and she sailed on 26th August under Captain Bunker. Whilst she was lying in Sydney, the Governor Bligh, a colonial vessel commanded by Captain Grono, was also preparing to proceed to the sealing islands off the southern part of New Zealand. Both these vessels sailed, and in March of the following year (1809) returned. The story of their trip is the first record given to the world of the existence of Foveaux Strait and the presence of the island, now known

as Stewart Island, at the extreme south of the colony. For the first time the mistake made by Cook 39 years before was pointed out. The story is best told in their own published account of their proceedings.

"Ship News. Yesterday arrived from the Southward the Governor Bligh, colonial vessel, Mr Grono master, with upwards of 10,000 fur seal skins. The 31st of January she fell in with the brig Fox at sea, with about the same complement. The Fox had lost her anchors and cables, and was very short of water, which latter want Mr Grono relieved as far as was in his power. In a new discovered Strait which cuts off the South Cape of New Zealand from the main land, fell in about the middle of February with the Pegasus, Captain Bunker, who had been pretty successful; and learned from him, that he had spoke the Antipode schooner 9 or 10 weeks before, she being then very short of provisions and upon the return to the Seal-islands to take her gangs off. In the Strait abovementioned, which is called Foveaux Strait, the Pegasus struck upon a rock but received very little damage, and the Governor Bligh met a like accident, though with no material damage."

"The above Strait Mr Grono describes as being from about 36 to 40 miles in width, and a very dangerous navigation from the numerous rocks, shoals, and little islands, with which it is crowded."

"On 15th March arrived the Pegasus, Captain Bunker belonging to this port, with about 12,600 skins. In Foveaux Straits she fell in with a schooner from England, also on a sealing voyage, commanded by Captain Keith; out eight months. No news of consequence." The name of this schooner was probably the Adventure, the captain of which was named Keith, and which is recorded as arriving at Gravesend from the South Seas on 15th September, 1810.*

On 22nd March, arrived the Antipode with 4000 seal skins. From the Shipping Returns we learn that the Antipode was a vessel of 58 tons belonging to Messrs Hullets and Blaxland, and on 28th July she sailed for Calcutta with coals and cedar under the command of Captain William Sawers.*

On 13th April, 1809, the Governor Bligh sailed for "the sealing islands," so that it is reasonable to suppose that she

made back to Foveaux Strait to further exploit the new sealing grounds.

When we consider the length of time—no less than 39 years—which had elapsed since Cook sailed past the entrance of Foveaux Strait, and the continuous trade which shipping had carried to Dusky Sound, Solander Island, the South Cape and the Snares, to say nothing of trade to the Penantipodes and the Bounties, it passes comprehension that the existence of the strait should so long have remained unknown. The fact that Cook's chart showed a dotted connection of the South Cape with the mainland, might well have suggested bays for sealing, if not a strait. The balance of probability is enormously in favour of the theory, that the existence of the strait was known prior to 1809. The shipping reports of the vessels first mentioned as being in Foveaux Strait do not speak of the Pegasus or Governor Bligh as having discovered it. No indication is given of the discoverer. It is simply mentioned as a newly discovered strait. The fact that we find the Pegasus, the Governor Bligh and possibly the Antipode from Sydney, and an unnamed vessel from London all engaged at one time in sealing on its shores, would suggest that it was known of before. The name Foveaux was in everybody's mouth in Sydney about the time the Pegasus and Governor Bligh sailed. Lieutenant-Governor Foveaux had arrived from England in July, 1808, and found Governor Bligh deposed by the people and placed under arrest. He had been so for about six months. Foveaux immediately resumed the reins of office and administered the government until the Home authorities decided the colonial dispute.⁶ The fact of his name having been given to the strait only indicates *its naming* to be after July 1808. The vessel Governor Bligh, being named after the deposed governor, it would be natural that the captain of that craft would suggest the name of the succeeding governor, particularly as he was at the time the most talked of person in the young colony. The name does not solve the question, of when the strait was actually discovered, but it very strongly suggests that Grono the captain of the Governor Bligh named it. It will be observed that the island now known as Stewart Island remained unnamed.

The owner of the Governor Bligh was Andrew Thompson who had been manager for Governor Bligh in his farming operations in the Hawkesbury District. Thompson had formerly been a convict, but had by good conduct and industry so rehabilitated himself as to secure the favour of the Governor and had been appointed a magistrate. He had also become a shipowner and was a wealthy man. The Governor Bligh was launched from his shipyards at Green Hills (afterwards called Windsor), on 1st April 1807. In addition to this vessel he owned the Hawkesbury and the Speedwell, small craft of 18 tons each, which he employed in the sealing trade. After his death in 1810 Governor Macquarie erected a monument over his grave.

On the return of the Pegasus from her successful trip to Foveaux Strait Captain Bunker left her, and his place was taken by Captain Chace (sometimes spelt Chase). The itinerary of the Pegasus is shown by the following advertisement dated Sunday, 9th April, 1809:—

Wanted immediately, six seamen for the ship Pegasus about to proceed to the River Derwent, and from thence on a Sealing Voyage; after which to England.—Application to be made on board to Captain Chace.

She was therefore bound for England, *via* Hobart, and intended to do some sealing on the road. On 3rd May she sailed for Hobart Town "with provisions and upwards of 50 male prisoners to be distributed among the settlers removed from Norfolk Island thither." The deposed Governor Bligh was on board H.M.S. Porpoise on the Derwent at this time, and in a letter to Viscount Castlereagh, he mentions that the Pegasus arrived there on 19th May.⁷

Leaving Hobart some time after this date, probably in July, she made across to the southern portion of New Zealand. We find in August 1809, that she was in command of Captain S. Chace, with Mr William Stewart (after whom Stewart Island was named) as first officer. On the 7th of that month, when skirting along the south-east coast of Stewart Island, she fell in with a harbour, which was called after the vessel—Pegasus Captain Chace put in for some time here, and Mr

Stewart took observations of the position, and made a chart of the harbour, showing the depths of water with great detail. The draft of Stewart's chart was forwarded by that gentleman to the editor of the *Oriental Navigator* and published by him in 1816. The notes on Stewart's discoveries are to be found on pp. 87 to 90 of the Tables which accompany the *Oriental Navigator* and are as follows:—

“The coasts of Stewart Island were explored by the ship *Pegasus*, Captain S. Chase, in 1809. The island was then found to be uninhabited, abounding in wood fit for shipbuilding and all other purposes, containing several excellent harbours, and runs of the purest water, &c.”

The following positions on Stewart Island were ascertained by Stewart:—

	Latitude.	Longitude.
Cape South	47.19	167.8
Entrance of Sugar-loaf Passage	47.11.30	167.49
Entrance of Whale Passage ...	47.6.50	167.56
<i>Pegasus</i> Island N.E. Bay ...	46.47	167.8

“The South Cape, so named by Captain Cook, is represented in the *Requisite Tables* as in $47^{\circ} 16' 50''$ S. and $167^{\circ} 20' 9''$ E. In the *Connaissance des Temps* it is given as $47^{\circ} 19' 0''$ S. and $167^{\circ} 8' 0''$ E. The latter corresponds with Mr Stewart's chart, and has been preferred. Captain Cook's chart of New Zealand exhibits this cape in longitude $167^{\circ} 39'$. The difference is imputed to errors of the *Tables*. Variation 16° E.”

“*Pegasus* Island. From Captain Stewart's chart, this island appears to be a league and a half in length from N. to S., and a league in breadth E. and W. In the bay there is anchorage in 6, $6\frac{1}{2}$, and 7 fathoms. Latitude observed as stated in the *Table*, $46^{\circ} 47'$ S. Longitude, same as Cape South.” *Pegasus* was evidently the island now known as Codfish. The details given show that the *Pegasus* circumnavigated Stewart Island.

The name *Pegasus* also occurs in *Pegasus Bay* north of *Banks Peninsula*. Some of the older maps lay it down as Cook's Mistake or *Pegasus Bay*. The writer's impression is, that after completing her work at Stewart Island the *Pegasus* sailed up the coast, and discovering the mistake Cook had

made in naming the Peninsula, Banks Island, gave it the above name. The editor of the *Oriental Navigator* mentions on page 91 of the Tables quoted above "the Ship *Pegasus* advancing from the northward to pass through this supposed channel (between Banks Island and the mainland) fortunately discovered, before night came on, that the island, so called, is really connected with the mainland by a low sandy isthmus, in approaching which they had soundings of 15 and 14 fathoms." This supports D'Urville's statement that Chase discovered that Banks Island was a peninsula and he gives the date as 1809.⁵

After leaving New Zealand the *Pegasus* is next recorded as being at the Chathams, where Stewart is again working at his charts, and completing the outline of the island left incomplete by Broughton. This chart is also to be found in the *Oriental Navigator* of 1816. From that point her movements are lost, excepting that Lloyds List of 21st August, 1810, records her arrival at Gravesend from Rio under the command of Chace on the 18th of the month.

The chart made by Stewart of *Pegasus* was in use in the British Navy and among merchantmen down to 1840. We find Captain Nias of H.M.S. *Herald*, when declaring British sovereignty at Port *Pegasus* in June 1840, stating: "This is one of the finest harbours I have seen, and its survey by our present pilot, Captain Stuart, in the year 1809, I am told by the officers of the ship, does him great credit."⁶

This is an appropriate place to discuss what exactly was Stewart's relation to the discovery of Foveaux Strait, and to Stewart Island, of which he is generally referred to as the discoverer. In passing backwards and forwards to the Penantipodes, it is impossible to say whether Stewart learned of the existence of the strait or not. If he did, Sydney journals make no mention of the fact. Stewart is not recorded as being on board either the *Pegasus* or the Governor Bligh when they met in Foveaux Strait on the occasion of the discovery being first notified. Though not an absolute criterion, still the custom of advertising the departure of men on sealing trips gives one a very good idea of the crews just at this period, and we cannot find Stewart mentioned as

sailing in any of these vessels. Taking the name Foveaux as indicative that the strait was named after Foveaux assumed the reins of government, there is no evidence that Stewart was in the south of New Zealand when the strait was named. In 1809 however, we find Stewart first mate of the Pegasus surveying the coastline of the island, and it is just probable that the name Stewart Island was given to the land because Stewart *surveyed* it, not because he *discovered* it. His name is here mentioned as W. W. Stewart. As a matter of fact it was William Stewart, but he had a very peculiar signature and when he signed his name Wm. Stewart, the m was formed exactly as the w, and it read like W. W.

The following is a correct copy of an advertisement inserted in October 1812, after Stewart had notified his intention to leave Sydney as master of the Cumberland.¹⁰

Notice.

I, William Stewart being about to sail out of this Port in a Colonial Vessel, and finding that Detainers have been exhibited against me by Edward Lamb, Thomas Laughlan, and William O'Neal, to neither of whom I am thus indebted, I thus publicly require each of the said Persons, to attend at the Civil Court, on Thursday next the 23rd Instant, to assert their Claims, as I then intend petitioning the said Court that such Detainers may be dismissed as unjust.

WILLIAM STEWART.

An advertisement of a Release executed by Stewart and R. Campbell, junr., 1819, shows the mistake of the W. W.

Notice.—We the undersigned, have this day signed a release up to this 30th day of January, 1819.

R. CAMPBELL, JUNR.

W. W. STEWART.

This reprint is given to meet questions which might be raised as to identity.

On 7th May, 1809, the brig Fox sailed for the sealing grounds of New Zealand. She visited Foveaux Strait and on 7th October landed a gang under a Mr Murray. Provisions

for six months were left, and the Fox sailed for a six months cruise, intending at the expiration of that time to call and pick up the members of the party.¹¹ This is the same vessel that was spoken by the Governor Bligh before she entered Foveaux Strait for the first time, early in the year, and she was evidently in all haste to take advantage of the new sealing ground opened up by recent discoveries.

Others displayed equal activity in taking advantage of the new ground. With this new trade rush tragedies continued on the coast. The old pioneer of the trade, the Endeavour, under a new captain, Goodenough, left Sydney in the middle of June and returned on 25th August with a doleful tale. On the coast of New Zealand when sealing, she had despatched a boat and six men to find the best station for a gang. Nothing more was heard of them. Every possible search was made along the coast, but all to no purpose. Reduced in strength by this untoward calamity, the Endeavour returned to Sydney to complete her numbers. The sad advertisement rendered necessary by this accident is here given.

Wanted.—Ten able Seamen or Sealers free of any encumbrance, for the Schooner Endeavour, able to proceed to sea on a sealing and whaling voyage, within ten days from the present date. Liberal encouragement will be given. Apply to Messrs Kable and Underwood.

Although the south is not mentioned here, we know that Kable and Underwood had their stations in the south and that the centre of the sealing trade was around Foveaux Strait. Beyond this we cannot locate the calamity.

Closely following the tragedy of the boat's crew of the Endeavour occurred one still more deplorable in the form of the loss of the brigantine Active, under the command of Captain Bader. She was a most unfortunate craft. It appears she combined sealing and whaling, and while in Bass Strait had been driven ashore at Western Port, but succeeded in getting off damaged¹² She returned to Sydney and effected the necessary repairs. On Monday, 11th December 1809, she sailed from Sydney never to return. This ship's notices, going as she was to meet her doom on the rugged New

Zealand coast, must have an interest for us and the author submits the captain's advertisement for sailors:—

Wanted for the brig *Active*, shortly about to sail on a promising and pleasant voyage, several active able men, who will find proper encouragement. Apply to Captain Bader.

Captain John Bader also advertised for "a person capable of the duty of a chief mate." Not only was the captain troubled at sea by the elements, but the Sydney thieves stole his ship's fittings while the vessel was being repaired.¹³

Sailing from Sydney, the ill-fated brigantine made the West Coast of New Zealand, and on 16th February, 1810, there left a gang of 10 sealers under David Lowrieston. The gang was really left upon an island about a mile and a half from the mainland. The vessel then sailed for Sydney never again to be heard of. The unparalleled sufferings of the unfortunate men who spent the next four years of their lives on these inhospitable shores will be told when their relief comes to be described.

In August 1809, a schooner, the *Unity* of London, commanded by Captain Daniel Cooper, had got into trouble in Sydney through three convicts and a seaman of the Sydney Cove being found on board of her, and she was fined by the authorities £900.¹⁴ She was on the eve of sailing for the southern part of New Zealand when this took place. As residents of New Zealand we can hail with satisfaction the fact that the law against taking convicts to our shores was so efficient. On 15th August, 1810, she returned to port after a long sealing voyage for provisions and refitting. Her cargo consisted of about 6000 seal skins. The shipping news says:

"She had been mostly about the islands on the coast of New Zealand, and in Foveaux's Straits, which are about 700 miles to the southward of the Bay of Islands, and describes the natives as particularly friendly. About 45' to the northward of Dusky Bay she encountered a heavy thunderstorm in a port named by Mr Grono, master of a colonial vessel, Thompson's Sound, another entrance to the southward of which is laid down in the charts by the name of Doubtful Harbour. Her foremast was struck by lightning in five places, by which

the lower mast and top mast were much damaged; five men were knocked down at the same instant, between decks, and for a length of time deprived of the use of their limbs, one of them being also severely burnt on the crown of the head. Three days after, lying at anchor in the above place, the people felt most sensibly the effects of an earthquake, the vessel trembled, and a noise like that of casks rolling about her decks lasted for 3 or 4 minutes." The *Unity* reached Gravesend on 12th June, 1811.

Grono at this time commanded the *Governor Bligh*, which is recorded on 13th April, 1809, as sailing for "the sealing islands" and on 19th January, 1810, as returning from "the sealing islands" with about 10,000 skins. The above extract would show that the Sounds were visited by the *Governor Bligh*, and Thompson Sound named by Grono. Thompson was the shipowner whose name has been mentioned before as owner of the *Speedwell*, which he had floated off after it got ashore. Grono it will be remembered was her former captain and owner. He was now regularly sailing as one of Thompson's captains. In 1810 the firm consisted of Lord, Williams and Thompson, and the *Governor Bligh* was one of their vessels.¹⁵ Thompson died in October, 1810. The names of the three members of the firm are preserved in New Zealand in Lords River, Port William (formerly called Williams Bay¹⁶) and Thompson Sound.

The view generally held among shipping men is that the sound was called after Deas Thomson, Colonial Secretary, and in support of this, it is shown that one of the islands in the Sound is called Deas Island, one of the headlands, Colonial Head, and the main island, Secretary Island. Deas Thomson did not leave England until 1828, or 18 years after the sound is here shewn from the columns of the Sydney press to have been named. The fact that in 1810 it was called Thompson Sound should settle the point.

Two items of bad news reached Sydney early in 1810. A duty of £20 per ton was imposed on all oil the produce of Australian seas, procured by colonial vessels and fur seal skins had fallen to an average of three to eight shillings per skin.

The following report of the doings of the Sydney Cove

during these palmy days of Stewart Island sealing, did not see the light of day until 1826, when in a letter to the Colonial Times, Hobart Town, W. Nicholls, ship's mate, described the following circumstance.¹⁷

"On the 8th of January, 1810, I was sent on shore with several other men from the ship Sydney Cove, Captain Charles McLaren, at the South Cape of New Zealand, in order to procure seal skins. After leaving the vessel I made towards the shore, and was some distance from it when it began to blow a gale of wind directly off the shore. This forced us to go into a bay near the Cape, contrary to my wish, as I had passed it before, and saw it was iron-bound, having no beach. I proceeded to the north-west end of this bay to procure the best shelter I could, and found to my great surprise, an inlet. At the end of the inlet there was a pebbly beach, where we hauled up our boat for the night. The next morning one of my men told me he had found a mast near the beach; I went to look at it, and found it to be a ship's top-mast of a very large size. It was very sound, but to all appearances had lain in the water a long time. It was full of turpentine, which, of course, had preserved it. As I was compelled by contrary winds to remain in this inlet three days I had time narrowly to examine the mast. I measured it, and found its length 64ft. from the heel to the upper part of the cheeks; the head had been broken off close to the cheeks. There were two lignum vitæ sheaves near the heel, which I took out. Each of these sheaves was 16 inches in diameter; had an iron pin, two round brass plates a quarter of an inch thick, and four small iron bolts or rivets, which went through the sheaves and the two brass plates to secure them. I have been some years in the British Navy, and am well assured that this bushing was not English. On taking off the plates from the sheaves I found inside each of the plates 'No. 32,' which was, without doubt the number of the vessel which the mast belonged to. Every ship in the British Navy is numbered, and I doubt not it is the case in other countries. When the ship came for me and my men I informed Captain McLaren about the mast. He looked at the work and gave it as his opinion that the bushing was

French. He observed that he did not know of any vessel that was ever lost on the coast that required a topmast of that size except the Endeavour, which was towed into Dusky Bay, and everything that belonged to her got on shore. The Sydney Cove was nearly lost on the Traps one night, and I understand Mr Kelly our harbourmaster, had also nearly fallen a victim on them. I had almost forgotten to say that, at Captain McLarren's request I gave him the sheaves of the mast to carry them to Europe; but, as the ship he sailed in was confiscated at Rio de Janeiro it is probable that they may have been lost. Captain McLarren is still (1826) sailing out of Rio, and it is very likely he may have some memorandum which will corroborate this statement of mine, the greater part of which I have taken from my log."

In the latter part of 1809 a syndicate had been formed in Sydney to collect flax in the North Island and manufacture it into cordage and canvas. Messrs Lord, Williams, and Thompson despatched a party of men in connection with this syndicate, under the command of William Leith to gather the flax. Leith was disappointed with the prospects of the trade and advised his principals of his intention to visit Queen Charlotte Sound. "This sound not being far out of our way to Foveaux Straights induces me to make tryal of it. . . . If we should not be in the Sound, nor any signs remain of our having been there, it will be necessary for such vessel (the relief) to run up to the Bay of Plenty and the East Cape before the master attempts to search for us in Williams's or any other bay in Foveaux Straights. The same signals I shall make in the last as in the before mentioned streights."¹⁵

The Governor Bligh, Captain Chace, was despatched with supplies for Leith on 27th March, 1810. Before however, she reached her destination, Leith's men had become impatient and returned in the New Zealander, Captain Elder. The Governor Bligh meantime, failing to find the whereabouts of Leith's gang, returned *via* Stewart Island, reaching Sydney on 18th August. While coming through Foveaux Strait, she fell in with the gang left there by the Fox, and brought back with her the overseer Mr Murray, who came on to Sydney to get provisions, the gang being left in great straits, the six

months' provisions left with them on 7th October 1809, being exhausted.¹⁰ The Fox belonged to Messrs Campbell and Co. of Sydney. She had gone to the island of Amsterdam where she was wrecked in September 1810.¹⁰

The shipping report continues. "From the same source of information we also learn, that two gangs left by the Sydney Cove, one in Molyneux's Straits, and the other on the South Cape of New Zealand, were under similar circumstances, being left with three months provisions in November last, since which period the vessel had not returned. Their distresses must in consequence be severe, but will be brought to as speedy a crisis as every possible exertion on the part of the owners can render practicable. The gang at the South Cape had unfortunately lost their only boat shortly after they were landed; which was however replaced by one that was spared to them from the Fox's party, without which their condition would have been exceedingly distressing."

"From his long stay in Foveaux's Straits, Mr Murray became tolerably conversant in the native language which he describes as totally different from that of the Bay of Islands, though the people of both places dress much alike, and are nearly similar in their manners. There were two small towns on that part of the coast upon which his gang was stationed, each of which contained between 20 and 30 houses, each house containing two families. These houses are built with posts, lined with reeds and thatched with grass. They grow some potatoes, which with their mats they exchange with the sealers for any articles they chose to give in exchange, preferring iron or edged tools, none of which they had ever before had in their possession. Those on the sea coast live chiefly upon fish; their canoes are very inferior to those of the Bay of Islands, not exceeding 18 inches in breadth, but from 14 to 16 feet in length; which want of proportion renders it unsafe to venture at any distance without lashing two of these vehicles together, to keep them from upsetting. Their offensive weapons are stone axes of an immoderate size and weight, and large spears from 12 to 14 feet in length, which they do not throw; and as an unquestionable evidence of barbarity, Mr M. affirms, that when two factions take the

field, their women are ranked in front of either line, in which posture they attack and defend, the men levelling their weapons at each other over the heads of the unfortunate females, who rend the air with shrieks and lamentations while the conflict lasts, and frequently leave more dead upon the field than do their savage masters. The vanquishers devour the bodies of their fallen enemies, and bury their own dead; and like the Gentoos, the women follow their husbands to the shades. To their king or principal chief, whom they call the Pararoy, they pay profound respect; and such was their deference to superior rank, that no civilities were paid to any of Mr Murray's people unless he were present; and he also was honoured with the rank and title of Pararoy."

All concern about the safety of the Sydney Cove was set at rest by news in November from Norfolk Island, per the Cyclops, that the missing vessel had been there and sailed for the relief of her gangs in Foveaux Strait. Later on, in April 1811, she returned to Sydney and confirmed the account brought by the Boyd, of the loss of a boat's crew of six men on the coast of New Zealand, the victims of savage barbarity.²¹

No vessel's name was specified in the Boyd's report but from the above it is plain that the boat with the six men belonged to the Sydney Cove, and that 1810 was the date when she had her gangs stationed on the coast of Foveaux Strait and Stewart Island.

On 26th March, 1811, the schooner Boyd returned from the relief of various sealing gangs in the employment of Campbell, Hook and Co., in Foveaux Strait. She reported: "At Port William which is distant about 60 miles from Solander's Island, she fell in with a whaleboat, with seven men left by the Brothers in October 1809; from the Overseer of whom Mr Holford (the captain) received the mortifying intelligence of several boats' crews in various employs having been barbarously murdered, and mostly devoured by the cannibal natives." The Brothers must have sailed from England and left the sealing gang there, as she reached England on 12th September, 1808. In November 1811, Mr

Robert Brown, late chief mate of the Brothers was in Sydney and left word at the Sydney Gazette office that in Foveaux Strait he found a cask of seal skins, 42 in number, at high water mark, out of all protection and intimating that they could be obtained by the owners on proof and payment of expenses."²

The following further quotations from the Boyd's report are of interest.

"The Sydney Cove, for whose safety some serious apprehension had been entertained here, Mr H. reports to have been at Port William, and from thence proceeded to the Island of Macquarie, where it is hoped her voyage will turn to good account."

"Three men who had fled from a gang in the above straits, and had gone among the natives, with a boat and a number of carpenter's implements, were also killed and devoured, and thus sadly atoned for their desertion under circumstances that intailed a series of inconvenience and distresses on their companions, as well as for their temerity in wantonly exposing themselves to the fury of the merciless hordes of savages that infest that barbarous coast."

"One of the persons brought up in the Boyd from New Zealand, gives an account of a hurricane that happened there on the 21st of March 1810, which he describes as most furious and terrific, dismantling forests of their largest trees, separating massy rocks, and filling the imagination with awe and terror. To a lonely European, constantly in dread of being surprised and murdered by the people upon whose soil the destinies had cast him, without a shelter from the fury of the elements, miserable and deplorable must have been his condition. But to one so lost and so seemingly forsaken for a time, it was the Will of Providence at length to find relief, and to preserve him as an example to Mankind that the Divine Aid extends itself to the most humble, and can exalt to happiness the mind that sinks beneath the cheerless gloom of hopeless melancholy."³

As Stewart occupies an important position in our narrative, and his name will repeatedly occur as events are chronicled, it will not be out of place to put on record here

his earlier connection with Australia and the sealing trade. A degree of uncertainty is imported into the fixing of his identity, on account of vagaries in the spelling of his name, but every care has been exercised in tracing him, and the author thinks that the following narrative may be taken as fairly reliable.

William Stewart had served in H.M. Navy for a period of four years from 1793 to 1797, for the first two as master's mate, and for the latter as master. During that time he was engaged under General Sir C. Grey and Admiral Sir J. Jervis in the reduction of several West India islands. In June 1801 he arrived in New South Wales from Calcutta, with about £1500 to his credit. So he states himself in a memorial to Earl Bathurst dated 19th July, 1819, ** but he does not record the name of the vessel. We know however, that the brig Harrington reached Sydney from Calcutta on 12th June, 1801. She was owned by the house of Chace and Co. ** and probably brought Stewart.

He entered Palmer and Co.'s employ, taking command of a 28 ton sloop called the George, engaged in the Bass Strait trade. In May of 1803, the sloop unfortunately ran ashore at New Year Island. Stewart sailed to Sydney in the Edwin and returned bringing assistance in the shape of two carpenters and other hands, but as ill luck would have it one of the carpenters was drowned and the other was stolen away by an American sealing vessel called the Charles, of Boston. In this dilemma Stewart had to get fresh men from Sydney, but finally he triumphed over all difficulties and on 15th February, 1804, the George returned to Port Jackson. **

During the year 1804 Stewart was in command of the Edwin. In this vessel he was engaged trading to the neighbouring settlement of Port Phillip. It was he who brought to Sydney the tidings of the abandonment of that port as a convict settlement by Lieutenant Governor Collins.²⁷ This year (1804) was a somewhat eventful one for Stewart, for we hear of him being instrumental in capturing several of the celebrated Tasmanian desperado Duce's gang, who had escaped from Hobart and embarked in a career of piracy. Upon his return to Sydney he appears to have

been transferred from the Edwin to his old command in the George.

In June, 1805, Stewart still in the employ of Campbell and Co. was engaged in the Penantipodes trade. When the Stewart Island rush came, he was owner of a small craft called the Fly and was evidently in difficulties, as we see in the Gazette that he was trying, but apparently unsuccessfully, to ship away from Sydney in the Fly and then in the Antipode. Stewart in 1809 joined the Pegasus and commenced the trip which was, in the writer's opinion, to give his name to the southern island of New Zealand.

REFERENCES.

CHAPTER X.

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. H.E., Vol. VI., p. 348. | 13. S.G., Nov. 5, 1809. |
| 2. S.G., July 24, 1808. | 14. H.E., Vol. VII., p. 203. |
| 3. S.G., Mar. 12, 1809. | 15. H.E., Vol. VII., p. 331. |
| 4. S.G., April 5, 1817, and Lloyds
List, September 18, 1810. | 16. H.E., Vol. VII., p. 333. |
| 5. H.E., Vol. VII., p. 413. | 17. Colonial Times, Dec. 8, 1826. |
| 6. H.E., Vol. VI., p. 701. | 18. H.E., Vol. VII., p. 333. |
| 7. H.E., Vol. VII., p. 180. | 19. S.G., Aug. 25, 1810. |
| 8. D'Urville's Voyage de L'As-
trolabe, Paris (1831), Tom. I.,
p. 22. | 20. S.G., May 16, 1812. |
| 9. Correspondence respecting the
Colonization of N.Z., Imp.
Parl. Papers (1841), p. 106. | 21. S.G., Nov. 10, 1810, and Apl.
13, 1811. |
| 10. S.G., Oct. 17, 1812. | 22. H.E., Vol. VII., p. 556, and
S.G., Nov. 9, 1811. |
| 11. S.G., Aug. 25, 1810. | 23. S.G., Mar. 30, 1811. |
| 12. S.G., July 30, 1809. | 24. Hobart Manuscript Records. |
| | 25. H.E., Vol. IV., p. 470. |
| | 26. S.G., Feb. 19, 1804 |
| | 27. S.G., Feb. 12, 1804. |

CHAPTER XI.

MACQUARIE ISLAND RUSH, 1810 TO 1812.

The *Perseverance* was at the Bay of Islands in April 1810, and took part in a punitive expedition against the Maoris for the massacre of the Boyd. By the *Perseverance* was sent to Sydney the Boyd's long-boat and papers. Frederick Hasselbrough the captain, with four other captains, signed the formal statement of the position which was addressed to Governor Macquarie.¹ On her arrival at Sydney she was fitted out for a trip to the south, in search of new sealing grounds. From this trip she returned on Friday, 17th August, 1810, and is reported simply as "from the Southward, having left part of her crew for the purpose of procuring skins." As a matter of fact she had found new country, rich in seals, and before the news could leak out, every effort was being made by the firm of Campbell and Co., who owned the vessel, to get fully equipped vessels sent off post haste to the scene of the new oil and skin harvest. The day after her arrival the owners placed the following advertisement in the *Sydney Gazette* :—

Wanted immediately, Ten or Twelve able Hands,
to engage on a Sealing and Whaling Voyage, to
whom good encouragement will be given. Apply at
the Office of Messrs Campbell and Co.

When the *Perseverance* arrived in Sydney, a New York brig of 180 tons called the *Aurora* was getting ready to sail on a sealing expedition. Having a slight start of the others she was the first to get to sea and cleared for the new discoveries on 19th September, 1810. Her regular master was O. F. Smith, but for this voyage S. R. Chace was given command, doubtless on account of his experience in this class of work.² No information leaked out to the press of the locality of the find, nor even of the fact that there was such. Only

the activity in shipping circles disclosed that something unusual was in the air. The *Aurora* was quickly followed on 3rd October by the brig *Star* (102 tons) Captain John Wilkinson and on 20th October by the schooner *Unity* (160 tons) Captain Daniel Cooper.⁵ The firm of Campbell and Co. had despatched the *Perseverance* and the *Elizabeth and Mary*. The *Sydney Cove* too, returning to Norfolk Island to relieve her gangs at the Molyneux and South Cape, got wind of the find and as we saw was reported by Captain Holyford of the *Boyd* to have proceeded from Port William to the Macquaries. This was the "First Fleet" to the Macquaries, six sail all told, starting within a few days of one another, and that no less than 95 years ago. But the discovery by the *Perseverance* of wreckage on the shore seemed to indicate that some previous voyager had already seen the hitherto unknown land.

By the end of the year the fleet began to arrive at Sydney. First to reach that port as she had been first to leave was the *Aurora*, on Sunday, 30th December, 1810. "A vessel was in sight on Saturday evening which did not get within the Heads till late on Sunday morning. She proves to be the American brig *Aurora*, Captain Smith, which sailed from this Port about ten weeks since in quest of islands, that were reported to be abundantly stocked with seal; upon which speculation several other vessels sailed about the same period, and amongst others the *Perseverance*, Mr Frederick Hasselbourg master, who, we are sorry to learn, was drowned among the islands, as was also a young woman of the name of Fahar."⁴ The ship's customs entry shows that she did not bring any very great cargo, having only 100 seals skins and 140 gallons elephants' oil.⁵ In the next issue of the local paper the above news was supplemented, with the information, that the passage back was done from Campbells Island in sixteen days, and that the unfortunate Captain Hasselbourg, lost his life on Sunday, 4th November, at Campbell Island by the upsetting of his boat at the mouth of the Harbour, and that three persons perished with him.

Captain Smith supplied for public information the following about the islands: "Campbell's Island lies in latitude 52°

32' S., long. per observation of sun and moon 169° 30' E. of Greenwich; high water at full and change at 12 o'clock variation of the compass 12° E. This island is about 30 miles in circumference, the country mountainous; there are several good harbours on the island, of which two on the east side are preferable."

He visited Macquarie Island, situated in lat. 54° 40' S. long. 159° 45' E. He reported. "This island is of moderate height, nearly flat on the top, on which are several lagoons of fresh water; the island is about 20 miles in length, and five in breadth, lying nearly in a north and south direction, a straight shore on each side, with reefs extending from the north and south point; there is no harbour, but good anchorage is to be found under the lee of the island; about 25 miles N.N.E. of the N. point of the Island lies a small isle called the Judge, and a Reef called the Judges Clerk; about 30 miles S.S.E. of the south point of the Island are an Islet and Reef which Captain Smith gave the name of the Bishop and his Clerk. Captain Smith saw several pieces of wreck of a large vessel on this Island, apparently very old and high up in the grass, probably the remains of the ship of the unfortunate De la Perouse.

"The above islands were discovered by Captain Hasselborough in the brig Perseverance, belonging to Messrs Campbell and Co. during the last year; there are few seals on either of them, but there is an immense number of sea elephants on Macquaries Island."

The gentleman, who supplied the foregoing information, suggested to the press the probability of the existence of numerous islands in the higher latitudes yet remaining undiscovered; and advised a good look out to be kept on vessels making the passage round Cape Horn.

One of the persons unfortunately drowned with Captain Hasselborough was George, the second son of Mr Allwright, baker, of Sydney; he was between 12 and 13 years of age, a remarkably fine and promising youth,⁶ who had shipped on board the Perseverance and the sad circumstances attending his death cast a gloom over the place.

It is a matter for comment that although there is no

uncertainty expressed by the Sydney Gazette of this date as to who discovered Macquarie Island, still publications from a very early date have given to Hasselbrough the credit of discovering Campbell Island, but in regard to Macquarie Island have credited it to "a colonial vessel of Port Jackson." This has always introduced an element of uncertainty into the matter. It should be distinctly understood that both Campbell and Macquarie Islands were discovered by the same man and in the one trip.

On 8th January 1811, the *Perseverance* herself arrived with a cargo of elephant oil and brought the full particulars of the death of the unfortunate discoverer of these islands and of the heroic valor of one of his men. The account furnished was as follows:—

"On Sunday, the 4th of November, the *Perseverance*, of which he was master, then lying at Campbell's Island, Mr Hasselbrough ordered the jolly-boat to be got ready to take him on shore to a part of the island at which his oil-casks were, about five miles from the vessel; which he left at two in the afternoon, with five persons, namely, Elizabeth Farr, a young woman, who was a native of Norfolk Island; George Allwright, a young lad, second son of Mr Thomas Allwright, of this place; Jas. Bloodworth, the ship's carpenter; Richard Jackson, a seaman; and a New Zealand boy. The weather being somewhat cold, Mr Hasselbrough had very heavily clothed himself, and wore a thick Flushing boat cloak, together with a pair of strong high water-boots, the weight of which must have baffled every personal exertion when necessary to his preservation. After an absence of three hours, the vessel was unexpectedly hailed from the nearest point of land, whither the other boat was despatched, and the persons that had hailed proved to be Bloodworth, Jackson, and the New Zealand Boy, who gave the melancholy information of the three others having perished in the following manner. Having safely reached the place intended, where the captain found the casks in safety, they put off to return to the vessel, and were obliged to beat to windward. When nearly two miles distant from the shore a sudden gust came off the land, which took the boat broadside on, and before the

sheet could be let go she was gun wale under, filled instantly and disappeared. The safety of six human beings being thus committed to a Ruling Power, whose decrees are just and absolute, each was affected by the peril in proportion to their confidence in their personal strength and dexterity. Jackson pushed immediately towards the shore, and being a strong hearty man saved his life with ease. The little New Zealander followed his example, and had just strength enough to gain the shore. Bloodworth, regardless of himself, sprang forward to the assistance of the woman, whom he considered most likely to be in need of it; and finding that she could swim, he cheered her with the assistance of his ready aid, and turned towards his Commander, who was imploring his assistance; but, who, alas, after struggling some minutes to sustain himself with an oar and boathook, before he reached him, sank into the abyss of eternity. His next object was to save, if possible, the little boy, whose danger was most imminent, and he, unhappily, sunk as he approached him. Thus, sadly mortified by the disappointment of his hopes to which his generosity had aspired, even at the moment when his own safety was in doubt, his female charge remained alone the object of his attention. The poor creature was exhausted, and had not the power of contributing to her own deliverance. With one arm supporting her, however, he swam upwards of a mile, through a rough sea, and with her gained the strand; but vain had been his labour, for respiration had for ever ceased. Agonised with horror, disappointment, and regret, he laid the breathless body of the ill-fated female beneath the cover of a bush, and, dreadfully expent with his fatigues, explored his way towards the point off which the vessel lay, and fell in with the others in his route. A boat was the same evening sent in search of the body, which darkness prevented from being found. The next morning, however, it was discovered, and the day following interred on shore, with every decency the circumstances of the case admitted. The bodies of the other two were not discovered when the vessel came away."

Letters of Administration in the deceased's estate applied for by Charles Hook of the firm of Campbell, Hook, and

Co.' closes the record of the captain of the Perseverance.

Judge Advocate's Office,

Sydney, 12th Jan., 1811.

Whereas Charles Hook Esq. of Sydney hath this Day applied to me to grant unto him Letters of Administration of the Goods, Chattles, and Effects of the late Frederick Hasselbourgh, Mariner, deceased, which were in this Territory at the time of his Death, the next o Kin of the said Frederick, and all others claiming to be interested in the Grant of the said Letters of Administration, are hereby summoned to appear before the Court of Colonial Jurisdiction, at Sydney, on Monday the 21st Day of this instant, January, to show Cause why the same should not be granted to the said Charles Hook, Esq., a principal creditor of the said Frederick deceased.

(Signed) ELLIS BENT,

Judge Advocate.

His name still survives on our coast in the Hazelburgh Islands just off Ruapuke. His name as spelt by himself, when reporting the Massacre of the Boyd punitive expedition, to Governor Macquarie, is "Hasselberg"; spelt in the Letters of Administration and by his employers who next to himself would know best, it is "Hasselbourgh"; spelt in the Oriental Navigator of 1816 and in New Zealand maps it is "Hazelburgh." The last the writer would suggest to be the most improbable spelling of the three. He named Campbell Island after the head of the firm he worked for, and Macquarie Island after the then Governor of New South Wales. The name of the discovering vessel is preserved in Perseverance Harbour, and that of Campbell's partner, in Hook's Kays, both in Campbell Island.

The third vessel of the "First Fleet" to return to Sydney was the Elizabeth and Mary (Captain Gordon), Campbell and Co.'s second vessel. She returned on Saturday, 2nd March, 1811, with a cargo of skins. She reported that the Star had sailed from Macquarie Island for England,—the first vessel to do this—that a gang in the employ of Messrs Kable and Underwood had met with fine success, that the same firm's

vessel the Sydney Cove, and also the Unity were at Macquarie Island.

The position of the islands having now been made known and the return of the First Fleet having supplied the shipping at Sydney with full information of the prospects of the skin and oil trade on the islands, the speculative nature of a voyage largely disappeared and a regular trade set in to the Macquaries. On 9th February the Aurora cleared for the Derwent and to proceed on to the islands. She returned on 19th May a full ship. The Concord, a brig of 150 tons, left Sydney on 8th March and made for Macquarie Island. She reached that place early in April. On the 8th of that month she was there and near the north end of the island "came to anchor in 12 fathoms water, strong winds and cloudy. At 5 drove off the bank, hove the anchor up, and worked the ship in-shore again. At 11 came to again off Ballas Beach in 13 fathoms." So she reported for the information of navigators.* She left a gang of sealers on the island and on 1st May returned to Sydney. On 12th April the Mary and Sally sailed for the islands and on 1st June the Concord commenced her second trip.

On Friday, 12th April, the fourth vessel of the "First Fleet" returned to Sydney. This vessel, the Sydney Cove, brought altogether 1000 skins° and 40 casks of sperm oil. The report on the work of her gang was favourable.

On 4th October the Concord reached port with a tale of storm and sea in the high latitudes such as the mariner of to-day in his big vessel is a total stranger to.

"On Friday, arrived the brig Concord, Captain Garbut from Macquarie's Island, whither she went from hence to supply her oiling and sealing gangs. She left this port on the 1st of June, and made the Islands on the 12th of July; when being boarded by two boats from the shore, a hurricane began to blow, and she was obliged to take on boats and crews, which otherwise must have perished. In bearing off the land under close reefed fore sail and fore topsail, the canvas was rent from the yards, in which condition her bulwark was dashed in by one tremendous sea. Before she could regain her place six weeks elapsed, during which period

Captain Garbut adhered to the latitude as nearly as wind and weather would permit, and at length obtaining a lunar observation, found himself 10 degrees to the eastward of his distance. Upon his making the island the second time Cap. G. got his provisions and necessaries for his gangs landed with every possible activity; at which his people had much reason to rejoice, as upon the third day he was again blown off, but having perfected his object, returned to this port. The people stationed on the island are represented as being in a deplorable condition for the want of food and other necessaries, as neither the vessels sent thither had arrived. The *Perseverance*, from the last accounts received of her being in Storm Bay Passage, had not had time to be there, probably, when Captain Garbut came away, which was the 5th of August. The *Mary* and *Sally* had been seen off before the *Concord's* first arrival at the island, but was unfortunately unable to make it, and never had returned: she is in consequence supposed to have shaped her course for Campbell's Island, to procure elephant oil and hair seal skins until the weather should be more favourable, rather than persevere in an attempt to make Macquarie's at so tempestuous and precarious a season; and the more especially as her sealing gang, if landed, would have found little or no employ until the bodies of seals began to come up, which would not be the case for some weeks. The falls of snow had been very heavy, the whole island was covered, and exhibited a dreary scene, to which the intenseness of the cold gave additional effect."

The *Perseverance* sailed serenely into Sydney Harbour on 31st October and landed a cargo of not less than 35,000 skins and happily without a whisper of any difficulties encountered.

The other vessel mentioned in the *Concord's* report, the *Mary* and *Sally* reached port on 27th November. She had sailed from Sydney to the Derwent reaching there on the 27th April, and remaining until the 18th May. After sighting Macquarie Island she could not make the land owing to adverse winds and was compelled to run to the Campbells where she landed an oiling party. She afterwards made Macquarie Island and landed part of her sealing gang, with

some provisions, but was blown off the coast with the loss of an anchor and cable. She came back to Sydney quite empty, to refit. When her hunting parties were at Campbell Island they reported seeing two animals of the hyena kind. From the description given it was thought they belonged to the same species as an animal that had been killed at Port Phillip some years before.¹⁰ Cook at Dusky, and Weddell at South Shetland, both mention this proclivity of the old sailor to see some strange animal.

After the terrible experience of the Concord already narrated, Garbut made every effort to get back to his men in their desolate wintry quarters in the far south. Early in the year he was at Macquarie Island killing sea elephants and seals and bringing the skins round to the west side of the island. On 24th January, 1812, at 9 A.M., he sent a boat to the west side for skins, but the boat was upset in the surf and all hands lost. Six men were on board, but though the wreckage of the boat was found there was no trace of the bodies. Thus happened the first boat tragedy at Macquarie Island. On 3rd February the Concord was still on the coast reporting strong gales and squally westerly weather.¹¹ The Concord sailed from the island for England on 10th March with a cargo of 13,700 skins and 50 tons of oil.¹² During the same month, presumably on her road to England, she called at Campbell Island and in suitable shelter, wooded and watered but reported experiencing strong gales.¹³

Holding returned on 7th May with the *Perseverance* and a cargo of 9000 skins and 65 tons of elephant oil. He reported the Concord's accident to Sydney shipping circles and the details inform us, that the sad accident took place only some 20 yards from shore, that of the six men in the boat four belonged to the Concord, and two to Mr Murray's gang working for Campbell and Co. About two months after the accident a mutilated body was found on a bank.¹⁴ The account first quoted is that supplied by Captain Garbut in London on the arrival there of the Concord and is taken from the log of that vessel.

Holding reported success all along the line. The *Mary* and *Sally* had made Macquarie Island bound for Campbell

Island on 20th March. The Sydney Cove had been at Macquarie Island two months and was driven off on 11th March with the loss of her anchors and cables and had not returned on 7th April when the Perseverance left. She had received on board 11,000 skins and 70 tons of oil. The Governor Bligh had gone eastward with 10 tons of oil and 4000 skins, and Captain Stewart in the Cumberland had procured some oil and left Macquarie Island three months previous.

The Governor Bligh returning on 7th June reported that from about 20th December 1811, to 24th February she had been beating off and on the coast at Macquarie Island, occasionally corresponding with the shore, when the weather permitted, and on the latter date she was blown off with only three men on board besides the master, and was unable to make the island again.

Stewart in the Cumberland on reaching Campbell Island found, that of the gang of six men left by the Mary and Sally only one man remained alive. His name was Henry Neale, a cooper. It appears that two months before his relief the whole of his companions had gone in an excursion in a boat and never returned. Neale when rescued was in a very debilitated state brought on by despondency, but quickly recovered.¹⁵ This was the second boat tragedy on Campbell Island.

With such an extensive shipping in such a wild inclement region it was to be expected that shipwrecks would not be uncommon. So far however none had occurred. As a matter of fact throughout the period of history we have been engaged with, not one actual wreck had been experienced upon the coast. The Endeavour was taken into Facile Harbour and condemned. She was not wrecked. Wreckage, it is true, was found on Campbell Island when the latter was discovered. Of that all is mystery. The same may be said of the wreck-
age at South Cape. Both may have come from a distance. When any vessel of the New Zealand trading craft came to grief it was generally on the Australian coast. Now however, we have to record a wreck.

The Campbell Macquarie was a vessel of 248 tons, built

and registered in Calcutta. On 22nd March, 1812, under the command of Richard Siddons, she was sent to Macquarie Island to take thence the sealing party belonging to the House of Underwood. It had also been agreed, that any of the other gangs that wished to be brought away, could come.¹⁶ It was likewise intended she should do some exploration work in the way of looking for new sealing grounds in the higher southern latitudes.¹⁷ From Sydney she sailed to Kangaroo Island thence to Macquarie.¹⁸ On 10th June while at Macquarie Island she ran aground and afterwards went to pieces. Her crew of 12 Europeans and 30 Lascars were all got ashore. She had nearly three suits of sails and when the weather cleared up, the crew succeeded in getting them ashore, where they were stored in a hut, which was afterwards accidentally destroyed by fire. All her stores were lost, independently of which she had on board 2000 prime skins, 36 tons of salt, and 118 tons of coal taken in lieu of ballast. Captain Siddons, Mr Kelly, late chief mate, and some of the men of the Campbell Macquarie were given passages to Sydney in the Perseverance which on 30th October arrived at Broken Bay. While on the island four of the Lascars died, also a European seaman of the Mary and Sally, named Thomas McGowen. On receipt of the unfortunate news, Mr Underwood of Sydney made every effort to secure the relief of the men locked up by this wreck. He purchased the Elizabeth and Mary and fitted her for a trip to the southern islands. In his anxiety to secure men he advertised in the rather unusual manner that he would be responsible for anyone's debts that would go. A copy of the advertisement is here given.

"Mr Joseph Underwood hereby gives Notice that the Schooner Elizabeth and Mary will sail for Macquarie Island for the Relief of the Gangs there stationed at the end of the present Week, and that he will be responsible for the payment of any Persons Debts who may proceed thereon, provided they shall be brought in to him before the Vessel sails."¹⁹

Such expedition did Underwood show that on 7th November, just eight days after word was received in

Sydney, the schooner *Elizabeth and Mary*, under Captain Siddons, sailed for the relief of the shipwrecked crew of the *Campbell Macquarie* and of the sealing gangs belonging to the firm generally.¹⁰

The same expedition distinguished her journey as her fitting out, and on 20th January, 1813, the relieving vessel reached Sydney with such of the rigging, stores, &c., as had been saved from the wreck.

REFERENCES.

CHAPTER XI.

- | | |
|---|---|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. H.R., Vol. VII., p. 329. 2. H.R., Vol. VII., p. 413. 3. H.R., Vol. VII., p. 478, and S.G., Oct. 6 and 27, 1810. 4. S.G., Dec. 29, 1810. 5. H.R., Vol. VII., p. 518. 6. S.G., Jan. 5, 1811. 7. S.G., Jan. 12, 1811. 8. <i>Oriental Navigator</i>, Tables (1816), p. 88. 9. H.R., Vol. VII., p. 551. 10. S.G., Nov. 30, 1811. | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 11. <i>Oriental Navigator</i>, Tables (1816), p. 88. 12. S.G., May 9, 1812. 13. <i>Oriental Navigator</i>, Tables (1816), p. 89. 14. S.G., May 9, 1812. 15. June 27, 1812. 16. S.G., Oct. 31, 1812. 17. S.G., Mar. 21, 1812. 18. S.G., June 27, 1812. 19. S.G., Nov. 7, 1812. |
|---|---|

CHAPTER XII.

BLUFF HARBOUR FLAX, 1813.

From the date of the discovery of the Campbell and the Macquarie Islands to the end of 1812, Foveaux Strait and the adjacent sealing lands appear to have been deserted. No imports are quoted in the Sydney Customs and no vessels are recorded as sealing on their shores. All shipping and trade for the period of time covered by the events of the last chapter were directed to the rich lands in the far south. For a revival of interest in the southern portion of New Zealand, we are indebted to an attempt made by the Sydney merchants to develop the flax trade of the islands.

The *Perseverance* which had been engaged in the Macquarie Island trade during the last few years, was employed to take some 23 men on a trip to South New Zealand to examine the flax. The leader of the party was Mr James Gordon, and with him as one of his leading men, R. Jones. In Sydney at this time Robert Williams had rope works in Castlereagh Street. He had taken more than a passing interest in flax and had experimented largely with it. He accompanied the expedition as expert. On 19th April, 1813, the *Perseverance* sailed from Sydney.

On the return of the vessel to Sydney, Williams gave a report upon the trip and the prospects of the trade. His report is dated September 1813, and was unearthed by the present author from among the papers of the Colonial Secretary in Sydney in 1905. As it covers the whole ground of the expedition and has never previously been put into type, it is here published in *extenso*.

In the Brig *Perseverance* September 1813.

Sir,—

I cannot give you a just idea of the value of the Hemp Plant of New Zealand without going into

great lengths by way of explaining the several trifling attempts that have been made use of to introduce it to Public Attention and service, and the reasons why these attempts have not been carried into effect.

The Flax of New Zealand, more properly called Hemp, has been an object of attention from most early knowledge of that Island; Governors Phillip and King were at much labour and expense and made great efforts to bring it to perfection, but the best mechanics of Europe, have failed in their attempt to manufacture it at any moderate labour and expense, and all further attempts deemed useless for several years, the abovementioned Hemp requiring a different process of manufacturing to any before known or practiced on Hemp or Flax in any part of the world.

In 1810 Mr Lord sent an Expedition with an able artist at the head of it with a great assurance of bringing it to perfection but the vessels returned without performing anything, for want of method of manufacturing it and the only profit of the Expedition were a few Musers of the Native dressing, whose method it is too tedious to supply a large demand and even what they could supply would not answer the purpose of British Manufacture, which has been well determined in England, thus Mr Lord gave up any further attempts.

I having been brought up from infancy to the Manufacturing of Hemp and Flax, and having as a Flax dresser and Ropemaker performed those Branches in several parts of the Globe and made use of materials unknown in England, I determined to try some method with the New Zealand Hemp and having found it possible to manufacture it, and my next endeavours were to perform it by a speedy and simple system, and such expense as would admit the exportation of it to a British market, my means were very limited and circumstances embarrassed, but

well knowing the encouragement held out by the British Government for procuring Hemp, at this time I persevered in the pursuit and have the satisfaction to surmount all obstacles and satisfy myself that the Hemp may be brought to use at less labour and expense than any Hemp in the World.

I then conceived my labour would meet with encouragement by the Governor. Knowing that Hemp was an article of importance to the British Government at Home, and this Colony in distress of cordage, and knowing myself capable of introducing a system of relief, represented it to the Governor by Memorial accompanied by Samples of Hemp and Cordage in different stages of manufactory, but the Governor did not pay much attention to it, telling me he did not understand it. I then informed Mr Lord what I was able to perform. Mr Lord proposed an engagement but not with such encouragement as I considered myself entitled to, and I declined it, and represented the business to Messrs Hook, Birnie, Blaxwell and others, but my proposals were coolly received the business having met with so many miscarriages, but this did not prevent me to decline my pursuits, and having a few of the plants in the country I continued to improve my method and gain experience and producing such samples that convinced the Public that something might be done, Mr Lord again made proposals but we could not come to terms to my satisfaction.

Messrs Birnie, Hook and Gordon requested me to make proposals, which were agreed upon, namely to send a vessel with 20 men and other means requisite to perform such manufacture I should point out, if I gave proofs that my method of manufacturing answers the purpose; after signing an engagement I produced such proofs of my abilities to perform more than I had proposed, Mr Birnie wished to commence on a much larger scale than had been proposed, but the question was, whether there was sufficient quan-

tity of the Hemp plant in being, and such were the hopes I had given on my part, that instead of commencing on the small scale proposed Mr Birnie determined to send a vessel and explore the Island, and if the hemp were in sufficient abundance to make choice of the most suitable place for establishing our manufactory, and return and then to commence on a very extensive scale and make use of every means that could be applied, this went beyond my engagement, to go more than once, and Mr Birnie proposed my waiting for the vessel's return, but having made my arrangements for the voyage and observing that some information might be acquired, I accompanied the voyage Mr Murray Master, with a good crew, Mr Gordon and Mr Jones to conduct the voyage, and to represent what was possible to be done and to what extent.

When we sailed I understood we were to coast the west side of the Islands to the South Cape, where we had been informed was the greatest abundance of Hemp, but whatever induced Mr Jones to accompany the voyage I am at a loss to know, for we were not three days at sea when Mr Jones expressed his regret at going, and heartily wished to fall in with some vessel to take him back, or that the weather might oblige us to return, this was the theme of our voyage for three weeks. Mr Jones represented the West Coast to be dangerous to approach so that the first land we saw was Solanders Island, in about 20 days very fine weather, but variable head winds, we fortunately had fine weather to take five men off Solanders Island that had been from four to five years on it destitute of relief, and hopeless of ever being taken off, and the same night to anchor in Port Williams in Foveaux Straits a very safe and still Harbour, land locked on all sides, the next day came on to rain and blow very hard but we lay very snug, but Mr Jones did not think so, he said as there was no Hemp in Port Williams and the

weather continuing bad for several days, that there was no hope of doing any more and as the wind was fair for Sydney we had better return but I was at a loss to know which commanded our expedition, Mr Gordon seemed very interested in our expedition and would not consent, at length the weather clearing up a little Mr Gordon and I went on shore to try some experiments on the Hemp, where Mr Gordon had the misfortune to cut his leg very dangerously with the axe in cutting wood to make a fire and no boat on shore and a long way from the Brig, it was night before we could get a boat to take us on board, this was a misfortune to our expedition, for the only hope of seconding my exertions was Mr Gordon and he was now confined to his cabin.

Mr Murray Master of the vessel was well acquainted with this part of the Island, and represented the Hemp in great abundance on the opposite side of the straits on the main, but no knowledge of anchorage for the vessel, and it was determined to cross the Straits in the Boats Mr Jones, Mr Murray and five hands in one, and Mr Smith 2nd officer, with five hands and myself in the other all armed, with Provisions for several days, we were in pursuit of five objects which are necessary to be combined in one view, namely abundance of Hemp, Wood and Water, means to collect them, and anchorage for the vessel. Foveaux Straits is about 25 miles over from Port Williams to Port Macquarie as named by Mr Jones, the entrance of which was unknown before to be capable of receiving a vessel. I have given a chart or view of this place as far as my abilities would admit from several very commanding views with the naked eye, the entrance of this harbour was supposed to be a reef of sand banks, but Mr Murray sounded it from side to side and found plenty of water for vessels of Burthen and Anchorage, inside we met with a Native at the entrance of the Bay, who seemed glad to see us but could get no information

from having no person to speak his language, we were at a loss where to land and the tide ebbing we grounded several times, and the native seemed indifferent on the subject, at length we landed and gave our new companion to understand that we wanted to find his village, he readily made signs to follow him, we left the Boats in charge of four hands and travelled several miles over marshy land covered with Hemp in general over the shoes in water, no Timber of any kind. Mr Jones wished to decline going any further, Mr Murray and myself proceeded on till we came to a large Bay covered with water the native informed us that it was fordable, Mr Jones declined proceeding and returned with the carpenter to the boats, Mr Murray myself and the rest of the Party crossed the Bay which did not exceed knee deep hard sandy bottom, we crossed a ridge of hills and valleys covered with Hemp, on the opposite side found the native village, chiefly of women and children and a few old men, they gave us to understand that the men were gone on some expedition for some time but I was apprehensive they were lying in ambush, we spent this night with them keeping a watch during it and they made us as comfortable as they could in their Huts. In the morning Mr Murray and I examined the source of the Bay we crossed the day before, and when we signified our intentions of returning, the women loaded themselves with large baskets of potatoes and accompanied us to the Boats.

We found the large Bay which we crossed the day before completely dry and covered with Paradise Ducks which induced me naming it Duck Bay, the natives took us a shorter cut back and found Mr Jones with the boats high and dry. When he found we were so well received by the natives he proposed going to their village the next day, after getting some refreshment I asked Mr Jones and Murray to accompany me in the search of a nearer cut and a

better road to Duck Bay, which I thought was the case from the view I took the day before, for though we had seen plenty of Hemp, wood and water, still there would be a difficulty in collecting them, we came to a thick Brush where I expected to find a passage but Mr Jones and Mr Murray declined attempting it. I proceeded alone and found it a complete barrier of Brush and Old Timber fallen down by age; on the eve of returning I fell in with an old beaten path that took me through to Duck Bay where I found a large valley of the best Hemp we had seen and as regular set as if planted by man, in the middle of this Brush I found an old Tent hut fallen with age and it was visible that the tide from Duck Bay met here, which I considered as an object of importance to our undertakings, as a little harbour would open a passage from sea to sea in the centre of everything we wanted. I had some difficulty in making my way through the Hemp and Fern, till I came to our First Track from Duck Bay to Jones Island, where the Boats lay and where I arrived at Dusk. I informed Mr Jones of the success of my journey, next day our party went to the village, Mr Jones the carpenter and myself went by the new road, as I wished them to give their opinion of what I thought our grand object, but I found our party more in pursuit of other amusements, we came to the village and Mr Murray and myself examined the channel that led to Duck Bay and found it navigable from our boats, on our return across Duck Bay the tide was flowing and I asked Mr Jones to go the shortest way through the Brush to ascertain the meeting of the tides and determine whether this would be a proper place to establish our works, Mr Jones told me that he had enough of it and that I might go myself, which I did with the carpenter through the new passage, and met at the Boats, Mr Jones said he would go over to the vessel in the

morning at daylight, I remonstrated with him, that this Bay seemed formed by nature to answer all our wishes, though we knew very little of it at present, and our principal object now wanted, was a stream of water he said he would stay no longer and we must find that next time we came, and that we had spent time enough here; in the morning the tide would not allow us to depart till 11 o'clock. I then proposed to take a walk round the west side of the Bay towards the Heads. Mr Jones said he would wait no longer than dinner being cooked, I took a biscuit in my pocket and went by myself, but not knowing what kind of travelling I should meet with, and intending to meet with the boats at the Heads, and as I had an opportunity of seeing them pass I was to fire a signal to be taken on board, in case I could not make my way to the Heads, I passed several large tracks of Hemp and Rivulets of water, but my time would not admit me to examine the source of them, I saw large quantities of Hemp all round that side of the Bay and most of it from 7 to 10 feet long and excellent soil, I found no difficulty in getting to the Heads it being ebb tide and hard sandy bottom, I made the Heads about 4 o'clock and made a fire on the Hills, in an hour after the boats arrived, it was then proposed to camp there for the night and cross over to Port Williams in the morning, the only two young men we saw amongst the natives came with the Boats, the rest were gone for more potatoes, but Mr Jones would not wait their return.

At Daylight next morning we launched the boats, the two natives seemed much concerned we did not wait the return of their companions with more potatoes, and bid us a very friendly adieu, rowed most of the passage and made the Brig in the afternoon all well. Mr Murray and myself had a hope of taking the Brig over and acquiring more knowledge of Port Macquarie and the neighbourhood round and Mr Gordon was of the same opinion but Mr Jones

overruled all and determined to get under weigh next day for Sydney, which was the case, we cleared the straits that night and stood along the eastern shore but scarcely saw it till we made Banks Island, and after standing towards it from daylight in the morning till one or two in the afternoon came within about four miles of a fine harbour, saw a large village distinctly, it was intended to go in but Mr Jones declined saying it would be only losing time, stood along the land till we opened a large Bay saw several large smokes, stood under easy sail till daylight next morning; found ourselves close in with Table Cape, made sail, running 7 or 8 miles into the Bay, fired a gun, fires were lighted on shore, saw the natives, about ship again, stood out of the Bay, Mr Murray having some knowledge of Table Cape stood close round it, saw large tribes of natives on the shores launching their canoes.

Hove the vessel too, the natives brought potatoes and mats for trade, a spike nail would buy a hundred weight of potatoes, but I saw no hemp, the natives gave me to understand that they had plenty of that article on shore, and went for it, but we waited not for their return, but made sail and stood along the shore; the canoes continued coming off to us trading as before, the natives in general all along gave me to understand that they had abundance of Hemp on shore, which article I'm sorry to say excited not the least attention of our party, for the grand object of our voyage seemed now totally forgot, we had a fine breeze from the west, and the vessel laid along shore under an easy sail and smooth water, we had every opportunity of visiting every mile of the coast, sailing along, and I have no doubt of our being able to have collected some tons of hemp from the natives which would have turned to good account, but Mr Jones became impatient of getting home, said that it was no use of creeping along shore, and that if we stood off land we should have a good breeze that

would drive us home, Mr Murray and Mr Gordon were of a different opinion, but yet they gave way to him and we soon felt the effect of a stiff breeze which drove us to the N. and E. for several weeks (the vessel making great lee way) we never more saw the land.

We might have made the North Cape, but all further attempts were declined to come home, we made Port Jackson after a cruise of 12 weeks nearly as wise as we went, had not Port Macquarie fortunately been formed by Nature to answer every purpose for a large establishment and though I was greatly disappointed, in not having numerous choices of situations, which most likely would have been the case had our means been made good use of, but yet it gave me a deal of consolation that I accompanied the voyage, for I found Port Macquarie so well suited in general to answer all our wishes, that I am positive much more might be done than ever was expected to be met with before we sailed, from the general information we had received, and had I not been there nothing would have been known of it for Mr Jones would have returned with the Boats to Port Williams, had I not been active in opposition to his inclinations, and the short time I was permitted to stay was always in search of such objects I knew requisite for an establishment, and every hour opened important objects in view; and though hurried away with great reluctance, still am well satisfied that great means may be applied to great advantages; Near the native village is a very high sandy hill commanding a view of low land as far as the eye could discern, covered with Hemp, and I have no doubt it was the case where we travelled and as far as we could discern, there was no timber on the low lands except in patches and that very thick brush. The natives here seemed to be only a few families detached from the main they were remarkably kind to us, though I was informed they had been ill

treated by some Europeans some time before; Mr Murray had lived in Port Williams many months and was dependent on them for Fish and Potatoes, and they would have given him as many as he pleased, but Mr Murray had never been into Port Macquarie.

I have no doubt but these natives with proper treatment would be of great service to an Hemp Establishment they were very poor but I saw great industry in their Potatoe Gardens, which were kept remarkably clean, Fish and Potatoes seemed to be their chief dependence, had we but spent six days at Port Macquarie instead of three I think many more favourable advantages would have presented themselves, but such were the ideas I had formed of the situation on my departure, that I had arranged every point of an establishment independent of any further discoveries, and had not the least idea but it would have been cheerfully embraced upon our return to Sydney, but so strange were the events of this expedition, that the principal persons intended for conducting and representing the voyage, one was wounded and could not go on shore, and the other could not see, or we saw and thought of things differently, on our departure I had no particular appointment, neither on my return did I attempt to interfere with those that had a right to represent it, a few days after our return I was asked of what I had seen and why we had done so little, I then represented Port Macquarie as a suitable place for a large establishment and by what means, I was then informed that they had different accounts from those that ought to have known them, I then gave such explanations as were requisite and referred it to Mr Murray and officers of the vessel, whose opinion was nearly as my own, and though we had done what was expected, I understand the business was to be proceeded in; The Phœnix being bound for England Mr Birnie told me he wished to send a representation

of the business to England and requested me to send some musers home, but I was very ill prepared for such a request for we had no means for performing my work when we sailed, neither was it intended till we commenced on a large scale; for all parties were fully satisfied my method of manufacturing was practicable and to trifle with it would give others an opportunity who were anxious to act on our principals, under these reasons I declined any experiments at New Zealand except of few bundles of the raw plants I brought for curiosity and to ascertain what effects the voyage would make on them, in this case I told Mr Birnie I would construct a small machine and clean the plants we had brought, and as I had some hopes and stood in need of assistance from the Governor, I therefore would request him to see it put in practice, which would do away all doubts of the business being brought to perfection and secure the merits of my own labour, I completed my machine and presented a memorial to the Governor, a copy of which I have accompanied with this, which will represent my idea of the important value of the New Zealand Hemp. His Excellency was pleased to inspect the operation of cleaning and preparing the Hemp, and was pleased to express his approbation by a promise to give it every encouragement in his power to carry it into effect. Mr Birnie now signified his intentions of postponing all further proceedings in the affair till he had heard from England, his reason for so doing was owing to the representation Mr Jones had given of it, I now found myself much hurt at this information, having put myself to great expense and trouble and the only recompense left me was to see others reap the benefit of my labours and exertions, and of sustaining great embarrassments by being led astray in my expectations from my usual pursuits. I was very unwilling of Mr Birnie's sending those musers home (which he had) being much damaged, they have been brought over in the green

leaf and remained several weeks after our arrival and were only intended to show the operation of the machinery by way of improvement.

I informed Mr Birnie the impropriety of sending them ; if I had known when I sailed to New Zealand that it was intended to send samples to England I would have taken care of providing myself with means to prepare such samples of Hemp and Cordage as would put them beyond the reach of doubts or prejudice, the mushers which were sent were too trifling for inspection, and even the best of them were lost or made away with, when I packed up the case for England, and I then gave it as my opinion that if they were not properly explained at Home, they would lead Judges of Hemp astray in their opinion of the New Zealand hemp, which from the little information I had heard of its result, I think has been the case, this had always been called a flax, but it is hemp completely which is easily discerned by proper Judges of that Article, and I now shall procure mushers as will convey a just idea of the value of them, and represent from my own knowledge and experience by what means and to what extent it may be brought to use, I being now employed furnishing the public with manufactured Articles of an excellent quality, which I can perform with less labour than on any Hemp in Europe.

The arrangements which I conceived sufficient of forming the first Establishment at Port Macquarie and which are on as small a scale as I could reduce to, are these, Boys from 12 to 15 years of age would be equal to men in part of the work, thus with 40 men and boys, I am confident of producing on an average 1 ton of hemp per day including all labour fit for exportation. The machinery on this Establishment would not exceed from £80 to £100—the party to be provided with 6 months provisions, and means requisite for building habitations and store houses, the principal materials growing on the spot. The

vessel to remain till our machinery commenced working which may be completed in 6 or 8 weeks from our landing, Two or three boats to be left with the party, and from my present knowledge of Port Macquarie a decked boat of 15 or 20 tons may be well employed, large boilers must be provided (or more proper salt pans) of such dimensions as could readily be removed from one place to another, the sizes from 6 to 8 feet long and 2 deep, would be sufficiently large for this purpose. I am well assured an establishment of one hundred Europeans may be employed in Port Macquarie to much advantage, and 400 with a proportionable increase of means and machinery, exclusive for extending establishments on other parts of the Coast, which from general information is practicable to great extent. I am of opinion the natives would perform the greater part of the labour in collecting the Hemp to great advantage. In this statement I have paid great respect to moderation, respecting the produce of the undertaking, and could represent a number of advantages which I have referred for practice should I ever have the opportunity to perform them.

Exclusive of our furnishing the British Market with Hemp, this Colony and others may be supplied with manufactured Cordage and Canvas to great advantage, for the cheap production of the Hemp would admit these articles to market at a moderate price. For manufacturing the only articles wanted from England would be six sets of hatchets, a few dozens of Reeds for weaving Duck and Canvas (a set of looms complete would be far better and cheaper). Four twine spinners Jacks of small sizes and a few dozen of Wheel Bends the whole of which would not exceed £100.

The following experiments will give a just idea to what extent this Hemp may be brought, exclusive of its natural productions, I cut from one tuft or

shoot 80 blades of Hemp which did not occupy more than 4 feet of ground in circumference and when brought to Sydney, seven of these blades produced a pound of neat Hemp of 8 feet long, and the whole of them would have produced the same, had this not been damaged on the voyage, the pound of Hemp was cleaned in five minutes in presence of the Governor. One slip or plant transplanted from the Governor's Garden in June 1813 was cut three times in less than 2 years and then I divided it into 9 slips, the whole of these plants producing young leaves an inch long in seven days, three of these plants are going to England in the Sydney Packet. I endeavoured to ascertain the proper age and season for cutting this plant, but I find it may be cut all the year round with very little difference in the quality of the hemp and I am positive that before all the hemp in the neighbourhood of Port Macquarie could be gathered and cleaned the first cut would be fit for cutting again and produce better hemp. There are several species of the hemp plant some producing seed and some not. I have seen those producing seed 10 ft. high, and others not exceeding three feet which produce the finest hemp.

Castlereagh St., Sydney,
September 1813.

P.S.—This is a representation made by me nine years ago, much useful information has been gained since and many representations have been transmitted Home by The Honourable Commissioner of Enquiry and also by His Excellency Governor Macquarie.

ROBERT WILLIAMS.

Williams ultimately got some samples sent Home and tested, but whether from the Bluff flax cannot be definitely stated, although the Report upon it shows, that the memorial, accompanying the samples, referred to Bluff flax. It is also interesting as being one of the earliest, if not actually the earliest Imperial Report upon New Zealand flax.

Report from Chatham Rope Yard, 10th June 1818, on flax sent by Williams in 1817.

The lines and twine from New Zealand bore little more than two-thirds the weight of those made from Riga and Chili Hemp.

The specimens of hemp are too small for us to form a correct judgment as to their fitness for Cordage, they appear much worked down for twine and none has been transmitted in a rough state clean from the stems or seeds to enable us to ascertain its length, natural fibre and produce when worked down, however the Memorialist states its growth to be from 2 to 6 feet and by the seaside 10 feet. The latter we would remark is the most likely to produce Hemp fit for cordage. It is certainly flexible and fit for fine uses and might be manufactured into canvas. We have tarred a small piece and it appears to imbibe tar equally as well as Russian Hemp.

We are, &c.,

T. M. HAITE.

W. FENWICK.

Williams tells us of the difference of opinion in the party throughout the trip. The only inkling of the report from the other side is taken from the columns of the press of that day and as it contains the better description of the Bluff Harbour, and the first description perhaps ever written, it is all the more interesting. It reads as follows: "We proceeded to examine the flax plant both as to quality and quantity, and found two distinct species, one of which attains the height of 6 ft. or 7 ft., and seeds; the other not more than 3 or 4 feet, and never producing seed, as we could possibly discern; both kinds appear very strong, but the shorter seems of the finer quality. The quantity we perceived was not considerable, as it only occupied the beach side of a large lagoon, and a small quantity along a sandy beach extending along the harbour to the Eastward. At the edge of the brushwood it gradually diminishes, so that at the distance of 10 yards not a single root of flax is to be seen. The weather being incessantly severe, with heavy falls of sleet and hail (commencing the

beginning of May), the progress of the gentlemen engaged in the expedition was much retarded; but they nevertheless determined to prosecute their enquiry as far as circumstances would admit. As soon as the weather permitted they made an experiment on the flax, and found that it yielded when dressed about one-half of its own weight undressed. The necessary process, however, appears to require such very considerable manual labour, that without machinery to perform the work no attempt can possibly be attended with success. Crossing the Foveaux Straits, which is about 21 miles, they discovered an excellent Harbour, which they gave the name of Port Macquarie, and lies about N.N.E. from Port William. The west entrance of this harbour is high land, and the entrance is first made by a reef of rocks extending about S.W., with regular soundings between the land on the west and the reef to the eastward of from 12 fathoms gradually diminishing to six fathoms, and from 5 to 4 fathoms at a considerable distance within the harbour, which penetrates into the country in a N.W. direction about six miles. There appears to be two channels, one near to each shore, and in the upper part of the harbour are three islands, with several small rocks and sandbanks. The boats made a landing on the largest of these islands, and gave it the name of Jones's in compliment to a gentleman of the party. The natives hereabouts were very civil and obliging, and the flax grew in tolerable quantities about the lagoons and marshes. After a research as far into the interior of the country in various directions as could possibly be effected, the gentlemen who conducted the party came to a resolution to return to Port Jackson, whither they have brought many of the best flax plants they could procure, well satisfied with the whole tenor of their observation, that to render the manufacture of the flax at New Zealand productive, would require an extensive capital." ¹

The wording of this report and the description of the Harbour would indicate that it was furnished by Captain Murray.

Williams also reported that the natives had "a field of considerably more than 100 acres" of potatoes which "pre-

sented one well cultivated bed, filled with rising crops of various ages, some of which were ready for digging, while others had been but newly planted."*

Though the Bluff Harbour was named Port Macquarie on this visit, Williams' report does not assert that the harbour had never before been heard of. The report implies that the existence of some sort of bay or inlet in the locality was known, but this visit definitely decided the fact that a vessel could enter. This is borne out by Mr R. Murray, who has already been mentioned as in charge of gangs at Stewart and Macquarie Islands, going straight to the mouth of the Harbour, though he did not know of an anchorage. The mention of ill-treatment of the natives would also imply a visit by Europeans. Lastly the great extent of potatoes grown by the natives points to a trade with sealers and whalers. The name Port Macquarie is to be found in maps published as late as 1841. Captain Bollons of the G.s.s. Hine-moa on his return from the Auckland Islands when he relieved the crew of the French vessel Anjean in May 1905, told the writer that on the French chart of the wrecked vessel, the Port of Bluff was designated Port Macquarie. The reader will also notice that Banks Peninsula is spoken of under Captain Cook's old name of Banks Island.

The name Robert Murray is identical with that of the fourth officer of the *Britannia* in 1792 and of the *Endeavour* in 1795, when these vessels visited Dusky. He was captain of the *Providence* from Norfolk Island to Batavia in 1796.

The similarity of name between the fourth officer of the *Britannia* and *Endeavour* and the Captain of the *Perseverance* may only be a coincidence but is one however that suggests the possible conclusion that they were one and the same.

REFERENCES.

CHAPTER XII.

1. S.G., July 24, 1813.
2. S.G., Sept. 4, 1813.

CHAPTER XIII.

MAROONED SEALING GANGS, 1808 TO 1817.

THE SOLANDERS' GANGS, 1808-1813.

Fairly in the road of steamers passing between the Bluff and any of the ports of the Australian Colonies, are two great detached rocks standing like sentinels at the entrance to Foveaux Strait and visible from a long distance. They are the Solanders. The larger and more conspicuous of the two rises to a height of something like 1100 feet and its steep weather beaten sides are covered with hardy plants, which can grow in the teeth of the southern gales of that locality, and hold on to the rock where is only soil enough to give them sustenance. Only on rare occasions is the sea so calm, that a landing can be effected on their exposed coast line, and under the most favourable conditions the landing party has but the selection of two spots, one or other of which is taken according to the direction of the weather. The smaller island is even more difficult to land on.

The very fact that the islands were discovered by Captain Cook while on board the Endeavour in 1770, and were named by him in honour of his naturalist Dr Solander, is, when known, sufficient to call the passengers on deck to get a glimpse of the spot. That glimpse is generally speaking enough. We can readily understand, that unless visited in quest of seals, the cruel appearance of the islands would repel masters of the small sailing craft of a century ago from venturing too near their inhospitable shores. We know Captain Oliphant visited them for seals on the first trip of the Bass Strait sealers to exploit the sealing trade on the New Zealand coast. At one or two places a small area of flat ground is seen stretching back from the water's edge but it is only a short distance before the steep wall of rock is

met with. On these flats doubtless lived the sealing gangs of old, when left by their vessels for many weary months, and on these flats, mutton birders to-day, should they visit the islands, pitch their camps.

On this island not long after Foveaux Strait was discovered two small parties of men came to reside for many years, but whether by shipwreck or left as a regular gang, or from both reasons, cannot be absolutely stated. While the *Perseverance* was bound for Stewart Island on the flax expedition already referred to, she made the Solanders and on 12th May, 1813, found five men living upon the island.

Her report¹ says that she "there found five men, some of whom had been there four years and a half, and the others nearly three years. Their preservation for such a length of time upon that island, which is not more than four or five miles in circumference, and scarcely anything but a barren rock, can be attributed to nothing short of that divine interposition which in numberless instances no less remarkable has imperatively exercised its gracious influence. Among them was a native of this Territory, who had lived in habits of perfect amity and good understanding with his unfortunate companions. They were clothed in seal skins, of which there bedding also was composed, and their food had been entirely made up from the flesh of the seal, a few fish occasionally caught, and a few sea birds that now and then frequent the island:—The birds they always salted for a winter stock; the catching of fish was very precarious, and the flesh of seals they entirely lived on during the summer season. They had attempted to raise cabbage and potatoes, of which plants one of them happened to have some of the seed when unhappily driven upon the island; but their first and every subsequent experiment failed, owing to the spray of the sea in gales of wind washing over the whole island, which rendered culture of any kind impracticable. They had long endured calamity, but had until within the last few months of their relief, entertained some hope of succour, which from a length of disappointment had gradually immersed into a state of entire hopelessness; and but a few days before the *Perseverance* went thither, had by general concurrence agreed to con-

tribute as much as possible to each other's comforts, as no expectation of relief was any longer to be encouraged or indulged. The island upon which it was their misfortune to be cast is about 5 miles in circumference, of very difficult access on account of the high surfs, almost perpendicular rocks, and of so forbidding an appearance as to any possibility of effecting a landing, as not to incline shipping of any kind to touch there, though they had seen several at a distance. From long observation they had reported the heaviest gales to proceed from the North West."

Though the names of the vessels are not given us, we believe we are in a position to give the names of the castaways themselves from the fact that on their return to Sydney the following advertisement appeared in the Gazette.*

Notice is hereby given to the Public, and to the Masters of Vessels in particular, that may touch at Solanders Island in these seas, not to meddle with, or take away from thence, a quantity of Dried and Salted Seal Skins, the property of the undersigned, they having been disposed of to S. Lord, Esq., whose brig is now about proceeding to take them away. Any Person or Persons found interfering with them after this Notice will be rigidly prosecuted.

THOMAS WILLIAMS.

MICHAEL McDONALD.

(Signed.)

HENRY SHIPPEY.

CHARLES FREEMAN.

On 20th July, 1813, the *Perseverance* landed the relieved men at Sydney.

The discovery of four Europeans and one Australian native on Solander Island in May 1813, some of them having been put ashore in 1808 and the others in 1810 makes us regret exceedingly, that no mention was made in the report, of the vessels from which these men were landed. One of the vessels must have sailed from Sydney as is evidenced by the fact that she had an Australian aboriginal on board. The first batch must have been left about the time Foveaux Strait was discovered, and as we know that from that time onwards, vessels were continually in the neighbourhood, it is remark-

able that the presence of these unfortunate castaways had not been detected. Probably it is due to the fact that all trade in the sealing line rushed to the Campbell and Macquarie Islands where a rich harvest of skins and oil awaited it.

Contemplating the notice, it does not seem unreasonable to suppose that the four names given above were those of the four rescued Europeans, and that the seal skins were those secured during their long captivity. Of course it is possible that the castaways sold the skins to their deliverers, but that would only be possible if the captain charged them for their rescue, such a supposition is highly improbable and may at once be discarded. At that date the names of men taken on board vessels were advertised in the local press. The only name on the *Perseverance* list resembling any of the four given above is Henry Shaffrey.

The author regards the circumstance, as calling for comment, that Captain Murray made for the Solanders, although he describes the islands as "of so forbidding an appearance . . . as not to incline shipping of any kind to touch there," and finding these five castaways, from two different vessels, did not record the names of the vessels. Captain Murray had been a long time at Stewart Island, having been landed there by the *Fox* in command of a sealing gang. Could it be possible that he had heard of castaways being on the islands? If he had, or actually knew that they were there at one period, it would explain his calling; and his silence about how they first came there might be explained on the supposition that they were from vessels that his employers were interested in. Continuing this line of thought the reader will recall, that early in 1809 the Governor Bligh fell in with the brig *Fox* and the schooner *Antipode* in the vicinity of Foveaux Strait.

A perusal of the shipping lists reveals the names of Robert Murray and Henry Shippey as intending to leave in the *Perseverance*, which sailed on 8th August, 1808, for the "sealing grounds," and the names of Michael McDonald and Thomas Williams in the *Fox*, which sailed on 31st August of the same year for the "Southern Isles." Here we plainly have three of the names of those who were found

on Solander Island. A possible explanation is that Henry Shippey did not go in the *Perseverance* after advertising, but remained for the *Fox* but this is not insisted on. The *Fox* plainly supplied those of the party who had been four years and a half on the island. Following up the history of the *Fox* the mystery is unfolded. She was on 31st January, 1809, when without anchors and cables, and short of water, met by the Governor Bligh and relieved. On 13th March she returned with between 13,000 and 14,000 skins and her crew in a terrible condition with scurvy, no less than 26 out of 28 of them having been taken ill, rendering it difficult for the vessel to get safely to port. On her trip she had encountered bad weather, suffered considerable injury to her upper works and had lost one of her boats.

One of her gangs including Thomas Williams and Michael McDonald had evidently been placed on the Solanders and storm and sickness had prevented their release. On 7th May, 1809, the *Fox* again sailed for the sealing grounds, landing Mr Murray and a gang at Stewart Island. If on this occasion she attempted the relief of the Solander party, Murray, in 1813 as Captain of the *Perseverance*, would have been acquainted with the whole position. We have already seen that the *Fox* never returned for her gangs but in September, 1810, was wrecked at Amsterdam Island. The Macquarie Island rush took away Campbell and Co.'s gangs to the islands in the far south and the lonely gang on the Solanders was forgotten.

Murray, who knew of their having been left there in the first instance, called in the *Perseverance* to see what had become of them and was fortunate enough to end their long vigil. If the surmise of the author is correct there is no longer wonder why Murray says nothing of the names of the vessels and why Robert Williams' report is silent on that point. It was in the interests of all to keep the particulars from publicity. The second party arriving in 1810 were driven on the island, so says the report. Northerly or nor-westerly heavy weather, which they complained of most, would drive them off sealing stations along the Preservation Inlet coast, and the opposite weather, which is not so prevalent, would take them off the Stewart Island sealing

stations. Here is a mystery of Foveaux Strait yet to be solved.

THE ACTIVE'S GANG, 1809-1813.

On 15th December, 1813, Captain Grono, in the Governor Bligh, arrived in Sydney from the West Coast Sounds with 14,000 seal skins and about five tons of elephant oil. With him also returned 10 men, a sealing gang which had been left on the New Zealand coast as far back as 16th February, 1810, by Captain Bader of the brig Active. The shipping news of Sydney thus chronicles the event. "The Active went from hence the 11th of December, 1808 [? 1809] and having landed her people on an island about a mile and a half from the main of New Zealand, sailed again for Port Jackson, but doubtless perished by the way and has never since been heard of. The people who were left as above described were reduced to the necessity of subsisting for nearly four [? three] years upon the seal, when in season, and at other times upon a species of the fern, part of which they roasted or boiled, and other parts were obliged to eat undressed, owing to a nausea it imbibed from any culinary process. They were left upon a small island with a very scanty allowance of provisions, and the vessel was to come to Port Jackson for a further supply. They had a whale boat, and their only edged implements consisted of an axe, an adze, and a cooper's drawing knife. In a short time they procured 11,000 seal skins, part of which Mr Grono has brought up. In hopes of finding upon the main some succour which the small island did not afford, they went thither, but were nearly lost by the way, as some of the lower streaks of the boat were near falling out, owing, as was imagined, to the nails being of cast iron. On their safe arrival, however, they found an old boat on the beach, which it subsequently appeared had been left there by Mr Grono on a former voyage. With the aid of this additional boat, when both repaired, they projected an excursion towards some of the more frequented sealing places, and were on the point of setting out when a tremendous hurricane in one night destroyed the boats, and put an end to their hope of relief. The only nutritive the place afforded was a species of the fern root, resembling a yam when cut, and

possessing some of the properties of the cassada. This they could only procure at a distance of six or seven miles from their hut, which was near the sea side, and had it been plentiful would have been a desirable substitute for better diet; but it was unfortunately so sparingly scattered among other shrubs so as to be found with difficulty; and they solemnly affirm that they have for a week at a time had neither this nor any other food whatever. With the assistance of a canoe made up of seal skins a party visited their former island, and found their stacks of skins much injured by the weather, but did all they could for their preservation. This was their seal depot, and out of the usual season they now and then found a solitary straggler, in some instances when they were so reduced by famine as to be scarcely capable of securing those that Providence threw in their way. With their axe, adze, and drawing knife they afterwards built a small boat, but with intense labour, as without saws they could only cut one board out of each tree; the hoops upon their provision casks were beaten into nails; and by the same patient and laborious process they at length projected the building of a small vessel, and had provided 80 half inch boards for the purpose, all cut in the way above described. The fortunate accident of Mr Grono's touching there has however preserved them from further suffering and peril." ^a

No further indication is given of the spot where the men were rescued, nor is it possible to locate it with absolute certainty. "An island about a mile and a half from the main" might describe one of the islands in Dusky Sound, but the absence of food as mentioned by the party, would hardly fit in with the plenty described by navigators during their stay there. Nor does it fit in with the expressed intention of setting out for the more frequented sealing places, as Dusky was a very commanding place to be left in. Rather does the above reference point to one of the northern sounds and the expedition as contemplating coming south. Secretary Island in Thomson Sound would answer the description. Grono, we know from previous information, was in the habit of visiting this sound; he in fact named it. Thompson Sound connects with Doubtful and forms an island—Secretary

Island—the only one north of Dusky of any size. Knowing this, the fact that one of Grono's boats was picked up, would indicate that the men were left on Secretary Island. Failing this it is impossible to say where the gang was stationed. On comparing the above account of the loss of the Active with the advertisements of her sailing from Sydney it will be seen that the report is one year out and that the men were three, not four years, in the inhospitable sound.

THE ADVENTURE'S GANG, 1810-1817.

An American whaling vessel, the Enterprise, which sailed from Philadelphia in December 1815 on a sealing cruise, arrived on 17th December, 1816, at Hobart, in want of wood and water. She reported an unsuccessful sealing voyage.* Continuing her sealing course *via* the Auckland Islands and the Snares she reached Sydney on 17th March, 1817, with three rescued men. The shipping news gives us the following information.†

“Captain Coffin of the American ship Enterprise, gives information of his having met with three men on one of the small Islands called the Snares, off New Zealand; who were some years since left there by the Adventure, Schooner, Capt. Keith, of London, under the following circumstances, as represented to them by Capt. Coffin; viz., that the Adventure had been sealing among the islands, and falling short of provisions, the Captain submitted to their choice whether they would go on shore, or starve afloat, stating it to be impossible for the provisions to hold out for the whole of the crew; that they went on shore much against their will, taking a few potatoes, which they planted and had lived on the produce of, together with birds and seals which occasionally fell in their way; that their number was originally four, but one had died, and all had the same dreary prospect before them, but Providence had been kinder than their expectation and miraculously preserved them. These men had written discharges from the Captain of the Adventure, as Captain Coffin assures us; and when it is considered that that vessel might by calling at either of the settlements on Van Diemen's Land have avoided the necessity of leaving four unhappy men in a condition so truly deplorable, we either must discredit their report, or

bestow upon them a portion of that sympathy to which unmerited misfortune prefers an undoubted claim."

The *Enterprise* on her return from this voyage reached Philadelphia U.S.A. in 8 days from Havana on 11th May 1818 and there loaded with molasses and sugar. On her arrival the following extract from the journal of her voyage was forwarded to the press :

"From Brister's Island we proceeded near the Snares; (a small cluster of islands in south latitude 48, west longitude 166,) here we found three men who had been on an island seven years. A schooner in which they were, being short of provisions, they chose to take their chances on shore. They took with them from the vessel a quart of rice, an iron pot, and half a bushel of potatoes. The potatoes they planted, and when we were there, the whole side of the Island seemed to be covered with them. They had built five houses and had 1300 dried skins. We took them and their skins on board, and brought them away from the Island."

Shortly afterwards the *Enterprise* was put up to auction as the following advertisement shows.

Ship *Enterprise*

At Auction

On Thursday next the 21st instant at one
o'clock, at the Merchants Coffee House
to close a concern

The Philadelphia

Ship *Enterprise*

As she returned from sea, burthen about 280 tons
copper fastened, and coppered to the heads. Inven-
tory at Coffee House, at the counting room, No. 4
North Wharves, and at the counting rooms of the
subscribers

JENNINGS JONES & Co.,

Auctioneers.

The mention of the American captain, Coffin, brings to our mind the story of John Rutherford, as told in "The New Zealanders" published in 1830. In this, one Coffin is described as commanding the brig *Agnes*, and being killed by the Maoris in 1816. John Rutherford's story is now dis-

credited amongst Maori scholars, and treated as a romance^o and it is probable that the name selected by Rutherford as that of the hero of his imagination in 1816 was so chosen because of the great number of captains of that name, then in command of American ships.

The schooner *Adventure* of London, Captain Keith, is probably the "schooner from England, commanded by Captain Keith, out eight months," spoken by the *Pegasus* in Foveaux Strait early in 1809. She returned to Gravesend from the South Seas on 15th September, 1810.^o

This would fit in with the story told by the men. The *Adventure* would be sealing in the vicinity from early in 1809 until early in 1810 and when ready to sail for England, the captain, fearing he could not accommodate the men for the whole trip, put them ashore at the Snares. The *Oriental Navigator* speaking in 1816 says of the Snares. "Within a few years the Snares have been frequented by the Australian sealers, and have been found not altogether barren; the persons left on service on the isles having gardens, &c."^o The fact of the party of sealers being there from early in 1810 to early in 1817 shows conclusively that the islands were not visited by sealers during that period. It would look as if Captain Keith, on his return, had supplied the information to tone down the harshness he had shown in leaving the men practically marooned.

REFERENCES.

CHAPTER XIII.

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>1. S.G., July 24, 1813.
 2. S.G., August 21, 1813.
 3. S.G., Dec. 18, 1813.
 4. H.T.G. December 21, 1816.
 5. S.G., April 5, 1817.
 6. Transactions of the N.Z. In-</p> | <p>stitute Vol. XXIII., pp. 453 to 461.
 7. American Daily Advertiser (Phil. U.S.A.) May 19 and June 3, 1818.
 8. Lloyds List, 18th Sept., 1810.
 9. Tables (1816), p. 90.</p> |
|--|--|

CHAPTER XIV.

HEADHUNTING 1811 TO 1823.

Headhunting in the early days of New Zealand history presented a twofold aspect: first, the European, seeking in the interests of the curiohunter, possession of the strangely prepared heads of deceased Maoris: and secondly, the Maori seeking, for the oven, possession of the fresh head of the living European. Both these aspects of the head question had, while New Zealand was young, their exponents on the shores of Foveaux Strait, and both furnished tales of blood and butchery fit to take a leading place amongst the wild stories of the days of early colonization.

The New Zealander's method of embalming the head is one of the most remarkable customs in connection with a most interesting race. So novel and at the same time so perfectly preserved was the article produced, that it aroused the cupidity of the traders upon the coast. When Europeans first landed in New Zealand, embalming was used by great chiefs to preserve for show the heads of all the distinguished chiefs they had killed in battle, but it served also a peaceful and domestic purpose in providing mementoes which helped to keep green the memory of warriors passed away.

The process is thus described by the Rev. Richard Taylor.¹ First the brain was taken out; the heads were then repeatedly steamed in the oven; after steaming, the heads were wiped with the flowers of the reed and every portion of flesh and brain removed; a small piece of manuka stick was inserted between the skin and the bone of the nose to retain the form of the latter; after this the head was dried in the sun and exposed to the smoke of the houses; the eyes were extracted, the holes filled with flax and the lids sewn down. The impregnation with pyroligneous acid kept off the attacks of insects. The head thus treated remained preserved for an indefinite time.

When we remember that even in civilized society to-day ordinary rules of *meum and tuum* are rarely observed by curious collectors in their eagerness to obtain rarities, no matter to whom belonging and that locks and keys are always wanted; we can easily see how matters would be viewed by the sailors on the small sealing craft, when they realised that in these strangely preserved human heads was a rich article of profit. They naturally tried to secure them. The first idea of the native, on the other hand, was not to part with his possession at all. The very circumstances attending the obtaining of it were opposed to the parting with it. It was only when tempted by a large price and when gradually debauched by the first flush of trade with the rough sealers, that they yielded to temptation and began a regular traffic.

This traffic, so far as can be traced, is supposed to have started in Foveaux Strait among the sealers there, and in 1820 the subject was brought under public notice by correspondence in the columns of the Sydney paper.

A writer, "Verax" says, "In passing through George Street in this town my attention was suddenly arrested by a very extraordinary sort of bundle under the arm of a man who was passing me on the footpath. . . . I called to and asked him what the handkerchief under his arm contained; judge my astonishment and horror, Sir, at beholding a human head, with long black hair, in a state of perfect preservation As soon as I had recovered myself, I asked the man if what he showed me was really a human head; with perfect indifference as to my feelings and construction the man replied it was the head of a New Zealander, which he had purchased from a person lately arrived from that country, and that he was going to dispose of it for two guineas to a gentleman who was about to embark for England."¹

In the next issue appeared the following reply.

To the Printer of the Sydney Gazette.

Sir,—

The letter signed "Verax" which appeared in your last Paper, I complain of as being too general in its animadversion. It speaks about dealing in human heads from New Zealand as though it was

an established medium of barter, and evidently proceeds from the pen of a writer who has no knowledge of the subject. New Zealand has been for many years frequented by sealers, who committed every species of depredation upon the natives, for the purpose of obtaining curiosities, as they are termed, such as their war implements, mats, and so forth; and though they might have been safe so long as they continued civil, yet the wish of making money of such spoil as they could any way pick up, upon their return to Port Jackson, was a temptation irresistible to the generality of that class of men; who, after toiling under excessive hardships for a year or two in Foveaux Straits, would spend their hard earnings in a week upon their return to Sydney.

To apply the term traffic to so vile an instance of depravity as must characterise the individual who would barter for a thing so appalling to humanity, is not just; because the writer might upon inquiry have been aware that the persons engaged in vessels going to New Zealand are all prohibited by their articles from trading or bartering in any shape whatever with the natives; from which it follows, that these heads, so far from being made an article of traffic, are conveyed on board by stealth, and secretly kept until their arrival here, otherwise a forfeiture of pay or wages would ensue.

These heads are exhibited by the various chiefs of the island as trophies; but, since the Missionary establishment, this savage custom gradually declines; and I can in no better way account for a greater number having been of late brought here than was before known at any one time, than that the natives, abating in the desire of exposing the heads of their conquered enemies as trophies of victory, yet being extremely indigent, would rather barter them away with sailors than dispose of them in any other way.

The first of these heads that I remember to have been brought up was by a wild fellow of the name of

Tucker, in 1811, who got it by plunder; and so tenacious were the natives at that time of these heads, that a whole boat's crew was nearly cut off for the crime of this villain, which was not known until he exposed the head for sale in Sydney. The crew had an hour before the sacrilege committed by Tucker, being upon the most friendly footing with the natives; when suddenly an alarm broke out, and had the vessel not immediately got away, a hundred war canoes would have boarded her at once. This man has since been killed at New Zealand.

I am, Sir,

Yours &c.,

CANDOR.

It is on record^a—but after careful search the author is not satisfied that it is authentic—that the head mentioned as being the first taken to Sydney was got by Tucker from the Maoris at Foveaux Strait. It may however have been at some point on the Otago coast line. Tucker returned to New Zealand in the *Sophia* in 1817, and with two others, as has been shown, was killed by the natives of Otago when landing to purchase potatoes.

The traffic in human heads has been a most peculiar one, and countless pages of literature execrating the trade have been published from time to time. In the midst of all the condemnation of the infamy of such a traffic however, it must be kept in mind, that the finest collection of Maori heads in the world is the private property of a major-general of the British Army, and that every acquisition thereto is photographed and published in the leading papers of this colony. Great pressure, too, has been brought to bear upon the Ministry of the day to purchase this collection, which at present is understood to consist of some 32 heads and to be under offer at £1500. We should not blame the poor sealer, who in those far-away days traded with the Maori for the same article, but at a much lower figure. Some of the same heads which were then hawked about the streets of Sydney for two guineas apiece and the transaction considered a shocking crime, may now be

in the collection mentioned and offered for sale to the museums of the world for £50 apiece, and their acquisition believed to be little short of obligatory on the part of the colony. *O tempora o mores!*

Tucker, we are told, was killed by the natives of New Zealand. This tragedy is connected more with Otago Harbour than the southern coastline, but as the brig *Sophia*, in which he sailed, traversed the whole of the southern coast and the sounds, the voyage is part of Murihiku history.

The *Sophia* belonged to the Derwent. Her owner was Mr T. W. Birch of Macquarie Street, Hobart Town, and she went to New Zealand to procure a cargo of seal skins. Her commander was James Kelly, afterwards harbourmaster at Hobart Town, who is alleged to have made himself famous by a voyage around Tasmania in an open boat in 1815. The brig sailed from the Derwent on 12th November, 1817.* She was absent about 19 weeks; as it afterwards appeared, engaged on the western and southern coasts and sailing from Otago Harbour to the Chatham Islands. On 22nd March, 1818, she brought back to Hobart Town 3000 seal skins.†

Outside of what Kelly reported on his return we have the statement of W. Nicholls in the *Colonial Times* of 6th December, 1826, that the Captain very nearly fell a victim to the Traps. The date of this event is not given, but it is evidently one of the incidents of this same voyage and probably took place in December, 1817.

On his return to port, Kelly reported that he had anchored at Port Daniel (now Otago Harbour) on 11th December. The same day the skipper went ashore with a boat's crew and found the natives friendly. On the 12th a visit was made to a place called Small Bay (now believed to be Murdering Beach) where there was a village. Here they were kindly received, but after a great number of natives had collected together, an unexpected and murderous attack was made upon the party. Kelly and three men escaped to the boat, and three others were killed:—John Griffiths, Veto Viole, and William Tucker. Thus did the European head-hunter meet his fate. Reaching the vessel the survivors found over 150 natives on board and apparently no hope of

getting the vessel clear of them. So closely packed were the sealers that they could not use their arms, but drawing their sealing knives at close quarters they fell upon the brown mass of humanity on the decks, and by simply carving a way out, were able to account for 50 Maoris by the time the vessel was clear. Subsequently another attempt was made to capture the vessel but it proved unsuccessful. Then Kelly landed a party on 24th December and cut their fleet of boats into fire-wood. Having thus destroyed their navy, on the 26th their town of 600 huts was burnt, and on the 27th the *Sophia* sailed for the Chatham Islands.⁶

Of the doings and observations of Kelly during the remaining portions of his journey we are indebted to his evidence given before a Commission on Colonial affairs in 1820 which will be found set out in appendix.

The other side of the picture was when the Maori turned the tables on the Pakeha and sought, for feasting and utu, the head of the white invader. A remarkable example of this has for its hero a Maori chief, who, though English born, was, at an early age, adopted into the ranks of the Maori.

On 28th March, 1823, Captain Edwardson in the Government brig *Snapper*, reached Sydney from New Zealand. The local press gives his narrative thus:—

“Captain Edwardson, of the *Snapper*, brings from New Zealand two chiefs, one of whom is accompanied by his wife. One of them is a youth of about 16, and the other is 30 years old. The name of the latter is James Caddell, an Englishman by birth, and whose history is briefly as follows: In 1807, or thereabouts, the ship *Sydney Cove*, a sealer out of this port, was cruising off the Bay of Islands, and had either stationed or despatched a boat's crew consisting of five hands and a boy (James Caddell the present chief) to one of the islands, in quest of seals. The boat was taken by the savages in the the vicinity of the Southern Cape, and the hapless men, with the exception of Caddell, were killed and eaten. Fortunately, in his fright, the boy flew to an old chief for mercy, and happened to touch his ka-ka-how (the outward mat of the chief) and thus his life became preserved, as his person was then held sacred. Being in too distant a part of New Zealand to

indulge the hope of hastily escaping from a wretched captivity, Caddell became resigned to his apparent destiny, and insensibly adopted the manners and customs of the natives. About nine years since he was allied to a chief's daughter, who also is sister to a chief; and by this twofold tie, he became a prince of no small influence among such subjects as those barbarous despots are destined, in the present constitution of things, to have control of. . . . He was in pursuit, with some other chiefs, of any boats or gangs that might unfortunately become subject to their capture, when Captain Edwardson succeeded in taking him. Just before a boat belonging to the General Gates (American), which vessel Captain Edwardson parted from on the 26th of December last, had been taken, but the crew fortunately escaped. Caddell lost his language as well as European customs, and soon became transformed, from an English sailor-boy, into the dauntless and terrifying New Zealand Chief. It required some argument to induce him to visit New South Wales, and he would not have come without his partner, to whom he appears to be tenderly attached. Some days he paraded our streets, with his princess, in the New Zealand costume; but now, we believe, he seems to be inclined to return to civilized life, of which none can estimate the comforts but those that enjoy them. It is said that those people will return to their own country by the first opportunity."

Rutherford, in his narrative⁷ mentions this same man, whom he calls James Mowry, evidently meant for James the Maori. A meeting was alleged to have taken place between them at Taranaki, and Caddell was accompanied by Otago, "a great chief who had come from near the South Cape." The only variation in Rutherford's narrative from the account published on Caddell's arrival in Sydney is the statement that he was "indebted for his preservation to his youth and the protection of Otago's daughter; this lady he has since married." By some of those, who regard the story of Rutherford's life in New Zealand as a myth, it is believed that he got the story of Caddell in Sydney after his arrival there. It is of course, quite possible that he simply read the newspaper narrative already submitted.

The date given for the loss of the boat's crew, "1807 or thereabouts," is probably a mistake, the correct date being 1810. We have seen that the Sydney Cove was at the South Cape in January, 1810; further than this, she reached Sydney on 12th April, 1811, and confirmed the information which had been received by the Boyd on 26th March of that year, of the loss of a boat's crew of six men on the coast of New Zealand. Though it is not absolutely stated that the crew belonged to the Sydney Cove, no other reference has been made by that vessel to a lost boat's crew, and it is more than probable that the crew referred to was that of the Sydney Cove's boat of six men including Caddell. This surmise, if correct, would make the date 1810 instead of 1807.

Speaking of Rutherford reminds the author that towards the end of 1828 the Sydney press published a statement, that a man named Rutherford, who had been shipwrecked on the coast of New Zealand, and tattooed by and naturalized among the natives, was then in London, practising the trade of a pickpocket, under the character of a New Zealand chief.⁹

Edwardson supplied some additional information regarding Caddell. M. de Blossville of the Coquille, when in Sydney, thus reports it.⁹ "James Coddell, an ex sailor on the Sydney Cove, was captured at the age of sixteen years and had spent as many more years amongst the natives of Tarai-Poenammou when the Snapper took him to Port Jackson, where the officers of the Coquille saw him. This man, who had married a young native girl named Tonghi-Touci, had become so accustomed to the sort of life led by these savages that he had become just as much a cannibal as any of them. He had embraced all their ideas and their beliefs, had believed in all their fables, and had fallen in with all their customs, so much so, indeed, that one might have thought New Zealand was his own country. His bad cunning nature had made him favourably received by the Natives. In the first interviews which he had with Mr Edwardson he had great difficulty in making himself understood, and had so much forgotten his mother tongue that it was with difficulty that he served as interpreter. He was regarded as a very dangerous man, but by not placing too

much confidence in him they were able to make considerable use of him."

The same authority informs us that the chief, who killed the crew of the Sydney Cove, was Hunneghi, Chief of Oouai, on the east coast of Foveaux Strait.

REFERENCES.

CHAPTER XIV.

- | | |
|--|---|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Te Ika A Maui (1855), p. 154. 2. S.G., Jan. 8 and 15, 1820. 3. Robley's Moko or Maori Tattooing (1896), p. 196. 4. H.T.G., Nov. 15, 1817. 5. H.T.G., Mar. 28, 1818. | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 6. H.T.G., Mar. 28, 1818. 7. New Zealanders (1830), p. 214. 8. Australian, Dec. 5, 1828. 9. Nouvelles Annales Des Voyages (Paris 1826) Tome XXIX., p. 172. |
|--|---|

CHAPTER XV.

MACQUARIE TRADE SLACKENS, 1813 TO 1825.

After the wreck of the Campbell Macquarie and the return of her gangs to Sydney, the sealing and oiling trade of the far south appears to have flagged. The Governor Bligh returned on 15th December, 1813, with the gang of the Active, found on the West Coast, and the fact that her cargo contained 5 tons of elephant oil, shows that amongst other places she had visited the southern elephant ground.

In the same year, 1813, the Mary and Sally is also reported making for the Campbell and Macquarie Islands, returning on 10th April, 1814, with a cargo of 80 tons of elephant oil, got in three months, at Macquarie Island.

On 17th December of the same year the Elizabeth and Mary arrived in Sydney, after placing a gang on Macquarie Island. The same month witnessed the departure from Sydney of the Cumberland and the Endeavour on the 6th and the Betsy on the 28th.

The last named vessel¹ was in the employ of Mr Joseph Underwood who was the chief Sydney trader with the southern sealing islands. Her captain was Philip Goodenough and her crew consisted of 27 Europeans and 6 Lascars. Leaving Sydney on 28th December, 1814, she arrived safely on 13th February, 1815, at Macquarie Island and there landed her gang and stores. The gang consisted of 13 persons, all on shares; the prospects of the season were good, particularly for elephant oil and all hands were in the best of spirits. The Elizabeth and Mary, another of Underwood's fleet, on her return to Sydney reported that the outlook for sealing was not so bright, and her cargo of 3000 skins were all that had been obtained.

Having landed her Macquarie Island gang, the Betsy proceeded to Bristows (Auckland) Island. There she lost

one European (Thomas Wilman), and a Lascar, from scurvy which had taken hold of the ship's company. In August, 1815, she returned to Macquarie Island. The island was reached in due course, but a few days afterwards she was blown out to sea and spent no less than three weeks in the vain attempt to once more make the land. Baffled in his long struggle Goodenough made for Port Jackson, but encountering heavy N.W. gales, was compelled to shape his course for New Zealand. The resources of the vessel were taxed to the uttermost. The allowance of water was down to $1\frac{1}{2}$ pints per man per diem and there being no bread, water and flour had to be mixed and eaten. The salt pork on board, was, in the absence of water, useless. On 18th September a heavy sea carried away the rudder and an attempt was made to steer with a cable. This proved too laborious an operation and another rudder was constructed. This on the 26th met with the same fate as the first. From this time they were compelled to use the cable in steering. Serious as had been the condition of the vessel up to this time, day by day added to their calamities until the state of the crew became appalling. Scurvy had obtained such a hold of the men that the master and eight Europeans were invalided with it. It manifested itself in swollen limbs, contracted sinews and excruciating pains. Water was down to one pint per day with 6 lbs of flour per week. The sick men were only allowed 4 lbs. This miserable supply of food sadly reduced the strength of those who were not actually laid aside. The Lascars, too, were of no use for the trying labour devolving upon them. The few healthy men had gradually become too weak to labour except during the daytime. The result was that from sunset to sunrise the vessel was allowed to drift about with every change of wind and weather.

Death soon came to end the wretched existence of the exhausted men. On 28th September Laurenza, a Portuguese, died and on the 30th John Wilson followed. On 5th October the body of John Moffatt, the first mate, was committed to the deep; and three days later while they lay becalmed within sight of Cook Strait, Cordoza, a Portuguese, expired. Water had now been reduced to half a pint per day. The sight of

land served to revive hope in the breasts of the despondent men but it gave way to the depth of despair when, a breeze sprung up, and they were carried once more to sea.

On 23rd October the doomed vessel was off the Bay of Islands and attempted to run in, when a sudden squall came on, the main brace and top sail sheet gave way, the top sail was blown to shreds and the jib fore topsail went to pieces at the same time. A second time the Betsy drifted off the shore. This time however, no strength was left among the men to do anything except remain on the vessel while she drifted about, at one time threatened with destruction upon the rocks, at another with engulfment by seas. On the 28th the last water cask was dry. In despair their remaining strength was marshalled to make a whale boat and a jolly boat water tight, and after infinite labour these were launched 20 miles from land on the morning of the 29th. By this time the third officer, William Grub, had died and been buried at sea.

In the jolly boat were placed four helpless men, John Tire, John Gabb, John Davies, and Fred Holstein. In the whale boat to tow them were the master, in the last stage of illness, Thomas Rogers, Thomas Hunt and five Lascars. A sixth Lascar had shortly before been drowned. Exhausted with the ravages of disease, and freighted with the unfortunate cargo in the jolly boat, the whaleboat battled away for an hour and a half without making headway. When it became apparent that further struggling meant the loss of all hands, as there was not sufficient strength in the whale boat to make progress with so great an encumbrance, they discussed the position among themselves, and finally decided that nothing else could be done but to abandon the sick men to their fate. The jolly boat was accordingly hauled alongside and a bag of flour taken out. A Lascar too, who was baling out the water was transhipped. None of the sick men commented upon their awful fate, the only words which passed being a request by one of them to have his coat as the air was cold. The opinion of those in the whale boat was that in two hours at most all would be over. In self defence for this awful action, the men stated that it was impossible to receive the four men into the whale boat.

After 12 hours of incessant toil the whale boat reached the coast of New Zealand. Out of 19 persons who were on board the vessel, 8 got on shore alive, viz., the Master (Goodenough), Thomas Rodgers, Thomas Hunt and 5 Lascars. One of the Lascars died after landing, as also did Mr Goodenough on 1st November, 1815. No sooner were they upon land than they fell into the hands of the natives, who robbed them of their small supply of flour, giving them in exchange a few potatoes. During the time of their captivity they lived in constant apprehension of personal violence. Regardless of their physical suffering, they were driven from place to place, and frequently threatened with spears and menacing gestures. The two Europeans were separated from the Lascars and at dusk were taken away in a canoe, for the purpose, they feared, of being devoured. After proceeding about a mile and a half they perceived a large fire on shore, which confirmed them in the belief that they were destined for a cannibal feast. Here they were landed and received by a concourse of natives, who obliged them to carry a basket of potatoes, towards another group of men and women among whom were the four Lascars; who, upon being questioned by Rodgers and Hunt, as to the treatment they were likely to receive, told them it had been resolved upon, to eat them both, which from all the surrounding circumstances appeared very probable.

The same night (2nd November), they were placed in a hut, and next morning advanced further along the coast, sinking with fatigue and long fasting. Harrassed in this manner for several days, they at length received the good news that their lives would be spared, but that they would become the property of their first captors. Fern root and dried fish were the only sustenance the place afforded, and even this was not plentiful. On the 9th a ship hove in sight but did not approach the land. On the 11th a brig coasted in near the shore, and the chiefs agreed to let them get on board if they could. A canoe was obtained and every effort made but when they had made the little craft ready for the water the brig was past. On 29th January, 1816, they left the place, called by the natives Mooramoota, situate on the N.E. part of the North Cape, and went to Rimgatan, 35 miles N.W. of the

former, but being worse off here than before, they returned to Mooramoota and on 23rd February were taken off by the brig Active, the master of which had learnt their condition at Rimgatan. The four Lascars were left under the charge of the missionaries at the Bay of Islands and the two Europeans proceeded in the Active to Otaheite.

Meanwhile the owners had become alarmed at the non-arrival of the Betsy in Sydney, and on 26th March, 1816, the Elizabeth and Mary, James Miller, Master, sailed for Macquarie Island, intending to go from there to Campbell Island and then on to Breston Island, sealing and oiling, but especially to find the Betsy and relieve her gangs, their provisions being expected to be by that time exhausted. The Elizabeth and Mary returned on 28th March, 1816, with a cargo of oil and the whole gang left by the Betsy in February, 1815. She also brought up a gang left by a former vessel, the name of which is not recorded. She however did not belong to the same employ, and the situation of the men is described as being deplorable from want of provisions. Their entire stock of food had been exhausted in the October preceding and since that time until their release, they had subsisted upon such trifling aid as could be afforded them by the Betsy's gang.

The same day that the Elizabeth and Mary reached Sydney, arrived also the news of the loss of the Betsy. The word was brought from Otaheite by Captain Campbell of the brig Governor Macquarie. Campbell had obtained the news from the master of the Queen Charlotte at Otaheite. The latter reported that the survivors had got over to the Three Kings and that the Queen Charlotte, going to their relief, had been blown off.

On 1st October, 1816, the European survivors of the Betsy, Thomas Rodgers and Thomas Hunt, arrived at Sydney, in the Endeavour from Otaheite.

We have seen from the great falling off in the number of vessels that cleared from Sydney to Macquarie Island, that the apparently inexhaustible supplies that greeted the first visitors had been sadly decreased if not almost exhausted by the wholesale butchery carried on. This was not a new thing

in sealing. The Bass Strait sealing had proceeded on the same lines. The supplies from the West Coast Sounds and the coast of Stewart Island had given out. Now Macquarie was doomed to a like fate. The position at the time (1815) is well put in the following article in the Sydney Gazette.*

"Between three and four years ago Macquarie Island was discovered to abound in seals and above 100,000 skins were procured there in the season. The case however, is now very different, as the whole number collected there by several gangs this season does not exceed five or six thousand. The decrease of the amphibious brood may be very naturally accounted for from the practice adhered to of killing promiscuously all the seal that offer, of which the Clap Match or female seal, furnish great proportion. The Pups or young seal were also indiscriminately slaughtered, so that the means of increase were totally annihilated unless from the solitary few which escaped the vigilance of the hunters, and which would require to enjoy length of undisturbed security and repose before their numbers were sufficiently recruited to afford a competent allurement to renew hostility. These causes were sufficient to counteract the prospect of benefitting from a fitting out hither for seal for many years to come, but it might have been looked forward to as an advantageous scene of adventure at a future period. This prospect is however totally obliterated by the ravages committed on the younger seal by innumerable wild dogs bred from those unthinkingly left on the island by the first gangs employed upon it. The birds which were formerly numerous, and were found capable of subsisting a number of men without any other provision have also disappeared from the same cause. Their nests which were mostly in inaccessible situations have been despoiled of their young, and the older birds themselves surprised and devoured by these canine rovers, which as they multiply must every day diminish the value of one of the most productive places our sealers were ever stationed at."

There is little room to doubt the correctness of this description of Macquarie Island; and the anticipations of the future trade are borne out by the fact that during the next

five years the Elizabeth and Mary owned by Joseph Underwood was almost the only vessel engaged in the trade.³ The few avenues of information open to us do not supply us with much information. Both in 1817 and 1818 when making south Underwood's craft touched at the Derwent for wood and water. During the greater portion of this time she was commanded by Beveridge and combined whaling with her other pursuits. As a sample of the frightful weather which had to be faced in the pursuit of the riches of the South it may be mentioned that during a trip in 1819 the Campbell Macquarie while under Beveridge was blown off the island no less than seven times losing two anchors and cables. The suggestion is that on that occasion she was relieving a gang which she had taken down in February, 1819, as the columns of the Sydney press give us the following advertisements.⁴

Wanted, Twelve or Fifteen men principally sealers. Apply at Mr Joseph Underwoods.

Wanted, a Cooper, for Macquarie Island. Apply at Mr Joseph Underwoods.

While the Betsy's gang was stationed at Macquarie Island a series of very severe earthquakes were experienced commencing on 31st October, 1815, and continuing with more or less severity until 5th May, 1816. Mr Thomson, who had charge of the sealing and oiling party, kept a journal of these remarkable phenomena and as it may be of interest to scientific men to know their sequence, an extract is reproduced here.⁵

"The first which took place on the 31st of October, 1815, at one in the afternoon, overthrew rocks, and gave to the ground the motion of a wave for several seconds. Several men were thrown off their legs, and one was considerably hurt by his fall, but soon recovered. At two o'clock the same afternoon another earthquake was felt, another at four o'clock, and ten during the night, all of which were accompanied with a noise in the earth like that of distant thunder, the wind northward and westward. The 1st of November another shock was felt; and as the people were employed in distant divisions, their observations of the effects produced by the phenomena was most general. An overseer of a gang

states that he witnessed the falling of several mountains, and the rocking of others which appeared to have separated from the summit to the base. On the 3rd of November, hard frost and heavy snow, two very severe shocks were felt. The 5th, 9th, and 11th, were attended with some alarming phenomena. The 7th, 8th, and 9th of December, one was felt on each day; and also on the 16th of January and 1st of April. The first, which was about the 31st of October, was generally supposed to have been the most alarming. It was preceded by a clouded atmosphere of seven days duration, in the course of which neither sun, moon, or stars were seen. The people were much alarmed and expected nothing short of the islands total disappearance, or being engulfed within its bowels."

Though not strictly connected with Macquarie Island trade, still the visit of a scientific expedition to Campbell Island is always worthy of mention. The *Luranie* bound for France left Sydney on Christmas Day, 1819, passing the southern part of New Zealand she sighted Campbell Island on 7th January, 1820, her captain's only account of the island is a description of its bare hills and absence of vegetation. A Sydney convict, Howaway who had once been on the island sealing, mentioned the existence of an anchorage in the southern part, but owing to his legendary stories he was discredited. She appears to have done nothing beyond sighting the island and sailing away.

So far the Macquarie Island trade had been wholly a Sydney one and confined to one firm who employed very few craft. The natural result began in due course to make itself manifest. The butchery having perforce ceased, the natural reproductive powers of the seal and the elephant began to cause an increase in these amphibious herds and again the hunter found it profitable to put in his appearance. This revival of the trade made itself more largely manifest at Hobart. It also developed in a new direction in that the vessels, when laden, pushed on to England with their cargoes, instead of regularly plying between the Australian Ports and Macquarie Island.

In August and September of 1820 the *Regalia* (Dixon) and the *Robert Quayle* (Leslie) sailed from Hobart for Mac-

quarie Island taking with them a strong sealing gang. The venture proved a complete success. On 13th November, 1820, the Robert Quayle sailed from Macquarie Island for England with no less than 150 tons of elephant oil, which with her other cargo made her a full ship. The Regalia took on board 260 tons of the same kind of oil. This large supply of 410 tons was obtained by the two vessels within the short period of six months. Captain Dixon, of the Regalia, reported on his arrival that the island furnished elephant oil in season to almost any extent, to industrious gangs and active overseers.⁶

Captain Dixon also reported that the two Russian Discovery Ships, the Wostock and the Mirmy, had called at Macquarie Island for water.

Encouraged by the successes of the other Hobart boats the Emerald (Elliott) in May 1821 took down a gang of 25 men, fitted out for 12 months, and left them at Macquarie Island. She returned on the 11th of June having been absent only 25 days.⁷ The following year she sailed from Sydney for the relief of the gang she had left, calling *en route* at Hobart on 7th September, 1822. On 31st October she returned to Hobart with 150 tons of oil and the Hobart gang, which she had relieved.⁸ On 4th December she sailed for England with her cargo of oil.

The new system of carrying on the Macquarie Island sealing trade spread to Sydney. In the Sydney Gazette of 21st February, 1823, occurs the following advertisement.

For London direct. The fast sailing ship Regalia (A1) William Collins Commander. Will sail in 10 days for Macquarie Island, and expected to return to Sydney in about 6 weeks, when she will immediately proceed direct to London, with such passengers and wool as may offer; for the former this ship is well known to be particularly adapted. Apply to Robert Campbell, Agent, Campbells Wharf, 18th February, 1823.

The Regalia sailed on 13th March and returned on 30th May, with 280 tons of oil and the Sydney gang which had procured it.⁹

The same year the *Lynx* (Seddon) procured 150 tons of oil and during her voyage met with very heavy weather being blown off Macquarie Island for 7 weeks, losing a cable and anchor. For relief she had to make for Hobart.¹⁰

We have seen what the condition of the sealing trade had been reduced to at Macquarie Island, by the year 1815, owing to the indiscriminate slaughter carried on with such short-sighted policy. It was a race for wealth comparatively easily obtained, and the end was reached without a moment's consideration for the future. But if we are astonished at the incredible folly that in so short a time produced such disastrous results, much more wonderful appears the marvellous recuperative powers of the persecuted amphibians. A rest in the intensity of the slaughter for five years seems to have been sufficient, to at any rate restock the coast with numbers to pay the adventurous hunter. Looking back from the present to these early sealing days, one must deplore that no steps were taken to preserve this great asset of the Southern Seas, by means of proper regulations and effectual supervision. Perhaps at the time this was impossible, at any rate a great source of national wealth was completely destroyed in a comparatively little time.

A vessel called the *Caroline*, of the House of Edward Lord of Hobart, at this date, engaged in the Macquarie Island trade. She is first noted as returning with sea elephant oil on 11th July, 1823.¹¹ She sailed again with Captain Taylor on 25th September and is reported in Hobart on 30th January, 1824, as having reached Sydney from the island with a full cargo of oil.¹² She returned to Sydney on her third trip with 90 tons of oil on 22nd April. During this trip Captain Taylor discovered a reef of rocks, which he reported for the information of shipping as follows:

Caution to Mariners. N.W. by N. (by compass) six leagues from the Northernmost breakers and the Judge's Clerk, lays a very dangerous reef of rocks under water. The sea broke very heavy on two different parts. I passed close to it with the ship. It was seen by myself, my officers and whole crew.

D. TAYLOR.

The next trip was her last. She left Sydney on 17th November, 1824, and arrived at Macquarie Island on 15th February following. There a cargo of 160 tons of oil was put on board of her. On 16th March everything was in readiness for her to sail to another part of the island for the remainder of her cargo. The weather at this time was moderate and continued so until two o'clock on the morning of the 17th, when a sudden and very heavy gale came on without any of the warnings which usually give a crew some little time to prepare to meet it. The wind blew with such tempestuous fury that nothing human could withstand it. The ship was driven ashore with three bows ahead; and in spite of every exertion she became a total wreck. It was some consolation that none of the men perished. They all reached the shore in safety but were unable to carry with them out of the ship anything but a trunk, the only article that could be hoisted up the cliff, and this was done by a rope before the vessel parted in two. Then they found themselves cast upon a desolate island, without either provisions or clothing, excepting what they stood up in. When the ship broke up, part of the cargo, some 48 tons of oil and some boxes were washed ashore. On this island the master and crew remained upwards of five dreary months until the arrival of the brig Wellington on 30th August. The wrecked vessel was not insured.¹³

Meanwhile concern began to be manifested in Sydney and Hobart. An American vessel called the Yankee brought to Sydney the news, that the Elizabeth and Mary would on her return bring tidings of the long missing vessel.¹⁴ In Hobart Dr Hood the agent of Mr Lord to whom the Caroline belonged, chartered the brig Cyprus to go down to Macquarie Island and remove the oil collected there, bringing also the gang left by the ship now so long missing.¹⁵ On 1st September the Wellington sailed for Sydney taking Captain Taylor and some of his crew to procure a vessel to take off the oil from the island. After she had sailed the Cyprus arrived and on the 17th of the same month with the remainder of the crew and with 66 tons of oil, sailed for Hobart, where she arrived on 1st October. While lying at Macquarie Island the Cyprus lost an anchor and a chain cable, worth upwards of £100. She also

lost all her bulwarks in a gale. Among her passengers, the Cyprus took up to Hobart a prisoner, who had been on the island for no less than three years.¹⁶

Among the manuscript Hobart Records¹⁷ the author unearthed the actual manifest of the Cyprus for this voyage. It reads as follows:—

Manifest of Cargo laden on board the Brig Cyprus, Geo. K. Todd Master from Macquarie Island to Hobart Town British built and of the Burthen of 108 tons or thereabouts.

Marks	Nos	Packages	Shippers	Consignees
None		No of casks unknown containing 16,800 gs or 66 tons 168 gs	T. Dodds	S. Hood
		1 cs Hollands		
		1 Cask Flour		
		1 Tierce Beef		
		1 Puncheon bread		
		5 Bags do		
		1 Chest tea		

GEO. K. TODD.

On the arrival of the Wellington at Sydney, the owners of the wrecked vessel decided to sell her and on 6th October, 1825, the sale of the wreck was advertised in the following form.¹⁸

Sales by Auction
by Mr Pritchell.

At the Kings Wharf, on Saturday next, 8th instant at noon precisely, on account of those concerned.

Sundry articles, as they now lay on Macquarie Island, appertaining to, and saved from, the wreck of the ship Caroline and more or less damaged; comprising a nearly new main-top-sail, main-sail, main-trysail, main-stay-sail, foretopsail, foretopmast-stay-sail jib, and mizen-topsail; the fore, main, and cross-jack yards; fore, main, and mizen-topsail yards; also, the fore, main, and mizen top gallant yards; about

90 fathoms of 1.5 inch bower cable, new in 3 lengths; about 90 fathoms of 1 1.8 inch bower chain cable; part of a stream cable, and part of a hawser; best part of the lower slanting rigging and topmast rigging complete; a quantity of blocks, double and single; hooks and thimbles; a quantity of sheet copper and copper bolts. Also a ships long boat, quite new, cut in two, and lengthened to 30 feet keel, 12 feet beam, and 6 feet in depth, more than half finished, and, when completed, would make a most useful craft of 25 to 30 tons burthen.

Condition. Ready money; and the purchaser to abide by all chance and risks.

The last portion of the advertisement where it mentions that the ship's long-boat had been cut in two and lengthened to a 30 feet keel, 12 feet beam and 6 feet in depth would indicate that Taylor and his men had begun to despair of relief and had tackled the problem of getting off the island in the ship's long-boat, which they had half finished when the Wellington arrived. The sale realised £37 10s, the purchaser being Underwood, the owner of the relieving vessel Wellington. On 26th October, Underwood's two vessels, the Wellington and the Perseverance, sailed for Macquarie Island, evidently to secure what had been purchased of the wreck. They returned to Sydney on 22nd and 27th December respectively with 125 tons of oil between them.

REFERENCES.

CHAPTER XV.

- | | |
|---|--|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Account of the Betsy. S.G., 1816. March 30, June 1 and 15, October 5, 12, and 19. 2. S.G., April 22, 1815. 3. See Shipping Returns p. 4. S.G., December 26, 1818. 5. S.G., June 15, 1816. 6. H.T.G., March 3, 1821. 7. H.T.G., January 16, 1821. 8. H.T.G., November 2, 1822. 9. H.T.G., May 10, 1823. | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 10. S.G., July 24, 1823. 11. H.T.G., July 12, 1823. 12. H.T.G., 13. Australian, Sep. 22, 1825. 14. S.G., August 11, 1825. 15. Australian, August 18, 1825. 16. H.T.G., Oct. 8, 1825, and Col. Times, Oct. 7, 1825. 17. No. 6303. 18. Australian. |
|---|--|

CHAPTER XVI.

THE GENERAL GATES, 1818 TO 1825.

It is hard to say under what designation to classify the voyage of the General Gates. One of the numerous band of American sealing vessels which frequented the Australasian coasts, on 20th October, 1818,¹ she sailed from Boston and on 4th June, 1819, reached Sydney, under the command of Captain Abimeleck Riggs.² Then she commenced to make history.

After being fitted for the voyage she sailed on 29th June for the Bay of Islands. Among her passengers were the Revd. S. Marsden and several other clergymen, with some Maoris, all accredited to the Church Missionary Society.³ But she had on board other than legitimate passengers. From the time, when the master of the American snow Mercury incurred the ire of the Governor at Sydney for stealing a convict woman, the Americans had taken away from Sydney a great number of convicts. Paterson when Lieutenant-Governor, as far back as 1804 had attempted to stop the evil, and in a proclamation dated 11th August of that year, mentions "the injury His Majesty's service sustains by the numerous convicts that have escaped and been received on board American ships on their departure."⁴ Riggs surpassed all previous records. He enticed five convicts on board, and allowed another five to stow away. He also took a freeman, who had not obtained a clearance. Eleven men left in the one ship, and what made it all the more serious was that the very best mechanics in the Government employ had been selected. On arrival at the Bay of Islands the men were formally put on the ship's articles and employed in ordinary work on board.

On 12th April, 1820, H.M.S. Dromedary was in the Bay of Islands returning from Sydney, and on the look out for a cargo of spars to take to England for the Navy. The General

Gates was there too. Having received information of the condition of affairs that prevailed on the American ship, Captain Skinner paid her a visit, and found, as had been represented, that a large number of Sydney convicts were on board. These were all gathered together and taken on board the Dromedary. Then it became known that they had been enticed away, concealed and cruelly treated. Riggs, the captain, was therefore placed under arrest, and with the ship, and convicts, sent to Sydney in charge of a British crew. *

In due course, the captain was brought before the Sydney Court, upon the charge of having violated the usual bond under the Port Regulations, not to take away a convict without the Governor's permission, and fined in 12 penalties of £500 each; 11 for carrying away so many persons, and one for quitting the harbour without a clearance. In giving judgment Mr Justice Field said, "It appeared by the evidence before the Court, that the American, being suffered to refresh his ship here, while partaking of a valuable fishery, which we might, if we pleased, monopolise to ourselves, instead of repaying the hospitality of the port with gratitude, acted more like a pirate than the subject of a friendly civilised nation, and went about into low public houses seducing some of our best convict mechanics. The learned Judge had no doubt that this was a breach of the laws of nations between Friendly Powers, and might perhaps revive the embers of discord in countries now happily at peace, and involve the defendant himself in consequences of which he was little aware. The defendant pleaded he had now left seamen on sealing islands (Amsterdam and St. Pauls), who if not relieved must starve. For these serious consequences he must himself be responsible. Although when he left their port, breaking through its regulations, he might not have expected to have been brought back by any other constraint than that of perils of the sea, yet he must be taken always to have contemplated these fatalities and that necessarily might bring him once more within a jurisdiction which would detain him for the penalties of his bond. And then, and not now, he should have thought what would become of the fishing parties which he had left on islands. Upon proper representation, the Governor of the

colony would take measures for the relief of these parties. All the Court had to do was to decide whether the bond was not forfeited." 6

This judgment was given on 15th September, 1820. When it was satisfied is not recorded, but it must have been before the end of November 1820, because on 25th November, we find the captain advertising the list of men who were accompanying him. American files report that after a detention of nine months in Sydney, the General Gates was liberated in January 1821, and in February sailed for the prosecution of her voyage after seals. 7

She appears to have sailed from Sydney for the islands of St. Paul and Amsterdam to take off the sealing parties she had left there before the seizure in New Zealand. After relieving them, she visited Hobart Town, sailing from that port in further prosecution of her sealing trip on 10th August. The next incident of this remarkable vessel's career is given in an American paper as follows. 8

THE GENERAL GATES, 1824.

New Zealand Cannibals.

"In the Sultana from London arrived Mr Joseph Price of Wilmington, Del., who was one of the crew of the brig Gen. Gates of Boston. He furnishes the following account of the capture and butchery of most of the boats crew landed on the coast of New Zealand.

"Sailed from Hobart Town, Van Dieman's Land, Aug. 10, 1821, and on the 21st myself and 5 others, viz.: Thomas Router of London; James Webster; William Rawson of N. London; William Smith and James West; both of New York, were landed on the coast of New Zealand in a whale boat with provisions, for the purpose of procuring seal skins.

"In six weeks we procured 3563 skins and the 11th of October we were taken by the natives of New Zealand between 10 and 11 o'clock at night. They set fire to our huts, burnt our skins, and the provisions we had left. They tied our hands behind our backs and we were marched by them to Lookinglass bay which was upwards of 150 miles. During the whole of this time we had nothing to eat but roasted fish which the natives subsist on themselves:—Thence to Sandy

bay which is better than 200 miles;—when we arrived here, there was a tribe of savages who took us before their King and Queen, and the moment we were brought before them John Router, of London, was ordered to be killed. They tied him to a tree, and two Savages one before and another behind him, with a club each, knocked him on the head. They then cut off his head and buried it; the rest of the body these inhuman people deposited in a kind of oven, under ground, and roasted it as a person would roast an animal—of this they gave us to eat, and having nothing else we partook of it, which tasted very much like roasted pork. Consider dear reader, what a state our mind must be in at those awful moments. They tied the remaining five of us to a tree with fifty to guard us; the next day James Webster was killed and roasted; the day after this William Rawson of New London was killed and roasted; and the following day William Smith of New York, shared the fate of his unhappy companions. On the next day from what we could understand from the Chief, James West, of New York, was to die; but fortunately for us, the night previous to his intended fate, a heavy squall rose from the east with rain, thunder and lightning, which so frightened the natives that they all ran away towards the west, making such a yelling noise as I never heard before, leaving us under the tree. We now untied each other, and walked away towards the beach where our boat was laying, which was about seven miles as nigh as we could guess. We now found our boat, two oars and the steer-oar, with her masts and sails. At the joy of finding our boat, I thought I was so strong as to carry her myself; we immediately launched her into the surf, and happy for us that Providence directed us to depart so soon as we did; for we were not thirty yards from the beach when 700 of the New Zealanders came in search of us. We were in the boat three days, having nothing to eat when we were picked up by the brig *Maguary*, captain White, belonging to Sidney, New South Wales, where we were landed on the 10th of November 1821.—Thence I sailed in English ship *Admiral Cockburn* to the Isle of France:—thence in the ship *Julia-Ann* of Calcutta to London. West was left in Sydney Hospital, sick.”

The account of the above in the Boston Patriot is in the third person. There is added "On each day the hands of their victims were assigned to the Queen, the feet to the King and the trunks to their subjects." The brig is called Maquary. It has at the foot "M. Hall Books," meaning evidently Mercantile Hall Books.

After placing this unfortunate gang on the southern coast the General Gates sailed for the Bay of Islands where she landed in August with another gang she had relieved. Her intention at that time was to call for her sealing gang in January 1822. So stated Clark who left the vessel at the Bay of Islands and returned to America.⁹ On 10th November, 1821, she anchored at Matavai Bay with 11,000 skins on board and on the 15th of the same month she sailed for the Leeward Islands.¹⁰

From what came to light afterwards it may be presumed that the General Gates did not proceed to the South Cape in January, 1822, as intended. She sailed from Whampoa (Canton) where she was on 15th March, 1822,¹¹ cruising about until about 14th May, when she sailed for Manilla and Batavia.¹² From Batavia she made for the South Seas. On 21st August¹³ she steered for Hobart which she reached on 2nd November, 1822.¹⁴ Here she remained until 5th December when she sailed for New Zealand. On 18th December she dropped anchor in Chalky Sound looking for her sealing gang, when it was found that they had only a few days before been relieved by the Government vessel the Snapper under Captain Edwardson. Of the original crew of eight men, four had been devoured by the natives¹⁵ and one lost.

The crew stated, on being relieved, that they had been left ashore seventeen months before which would place the date June 1821, an improbable one in view of the known movements of the General Gates. It is more probable that this gang was left ashore during the same trip as Price's gang,—some time in August 1821, or a period of fifteen months before. The seventeen months stated by the crew would mean that in August 1821, though the General Gates was in the neighbourhood she had overlooked them.

A gang was left by the General Gates on this second trip

to the South and appears to have had as unfortunate a time as that experienced by the first gang.

On 21st January, 1823, Captain Grono brought into Sydney the brig Elizabeth "from the sealing grounds off New Zealand" with 1500 seal skins. In the press references appears the following.¹⁶

"Mr Grono, master of the Elizabeth, colonial brig, appeared at the Police Office yesterday, together with seven men, five of whom were Europeans, one an American, and one a New Zealander. Mr Grono brought these persons from the West Coast of New Zealand, under the following circumstances. Upon the Elizabeth making the coast, a boat came off manned by seven men. They told the person in charge of the Elizabeth, the master then being absent, that the Natives were very hostile to the crews of vessels and to the gangs in the vicinity; that a party of them had lately killed four of their gang; and they therefore advised them to be cautious. They further said that their boat, with themselves, belonged to the American ship General Gates, Capt. Riggs, which was cruising off the islands, the chief officer Burnham being left with them. The latter individual is the American alluded to. When Mr Grono came to a knowledge of this occurrence, he proceeded on shore with a boats crew, and took the men prisoners, under the idea, so he wished to impress the magistrates, that they were runaway convicts, and had now turned pirates in our seas. One of the men owned himself to be an escaped prisoner of the Crown, but the others asserted their freedom, which no one was prepared to deny. They said there was not the smallest doubt but that Capt. Riggs would come after them to Port Jackson, as soon as information reached him of the event (which had before now occurred), from the gang that Mr Grono stationed on the spot he took this party from. The free men were directed to be remanded till ample satisfaction could be procured as to their actual freedom, and the prisoner was ordered into custody, to be dealt with in the usual way. With regard to the conduct of Captain Grono on this novel occasion, the magistrates, in this state of the proceedings, could not withhold expressing their entire disapprobation at the perpetration of such an act."

Grono is our old friend who, in the Governor Bligh, in one of the West Coast Sounds, relieved the survivors of the Active ten years before, and who, earlier still, was one of the first in Foveaux Strait. He got into trouble over the matter, and appearances suggest that he well deserved it. The fact that he left a gang where he took the other from, suggests that the gang in possession was taken away because its members had a good sealing spot which Grono wished to obtain possession of. Four men being spoken of as having been killed, would lead the reader to suppose that this referred to the gang which had been left at Chalky Sound in 1822, and the fate of which presumably, was discovered in November, 1823. The Elizabeth returned to the Fisheries on 13th February, 1823, and probably took the gang back with her.

Light has been thrown upon what may have actuated Grono to take the extreme step of arresting the men and taking them to Sydney by the unearthing from among the manuscript Hobart Records of the following official document.¹⁷

Sydney, New South Wales, 20th Nov., 1824.

I hereby certify to all whom it may concern that I have it in recollection (tho not a distinct recollection) that His Excellency the late Governor, did authorise, and I believe request Mr Jonathan Griffiths, Mr Grono, and other Masters of Colonial Vessels to apprehend at sea, or wherever else they should meet with them, all persons whom they might know or get ascertained to them to be runaway Prisoners of the Crown, or persons escaping from the Colony to the injury of their Creditors, and in defiance of the Port Regulations, and that the said Masters of Colonial Vessels should deliver up all persons so secured or detained by them, to the proper authorities in any Port or Place within the limits of the territory of New South Wales and its Dependencies whereat they should first arrive.

J. T. CAMPBELL,

Secretary to the Government of New South Wales during the administration thereof, by the late Major General Macquarie.

Of course if Macquarie appointed Grono practically to be a water police magistrate, his action is defensible. The document is published as it appears to have some bearing on the question.

The troubles of the unfortunate sealing gangs of the General Gates were not yet at an end. On 31st March, 1824, a schooner called the Samuel, commanded by Captain Dawson, arrived from the southern coast of New Zealand with some news of the General Gates.¹⁸

“Mr Dawson, the commander of the Samuel, has brought with him this voyage a black Native woman with a child two years old. She had been taken by the American ship General Gates from Kangaroo Island and left on the South Cape of New Zealand, with a gang of sealers. After these men had been there some short time, a horde of the savages came upon them, and nearly massacred all the party. The poor Native, with her little one, took shelter under a rock, till the New Zealanders left the spot. For eight months the mother and child lived, without fire, on birds and seals. They are yet on board the Samuel, and were in good health when rescued by Mr Dawson from danger.”

This would give the date of the massacre as June 1823, or perhaps a month or two earlier according to the length of time the native woman had been on the Samuel. This clearly indicates one of the gangs placed on shore after leaving Hobart. If it was June 1823 that this massacre took place, it is plainly a different one from that described by the gang seized by Grono in January of the same year. We therefore appear to be in possession of evidence which indicates three massacres.

On 18th June, 1823, the General Gates arrived at Tahiti from the Marquesas.¹⁹ The date upon which Riggs returned and found his men butchered cannot be given, but that he did return in due course was sadly experienced by the natives of Ruapuke, and their graphic account of the revenge taken, is given in the language of the Revd. J. F. H. Wohlers, who resided in Ruapuke, Stewart Island, from 1844 until his death in 1885.

“It must have been about 1820-1830—I knew a few who

were present—when the Maoris in the south first came into touch with the Europeans. The captain of a whaling vessel placed a few of her people in an uninhabited bay in Stewart Island to catch fur seals, whilst he went whale-fishing with the rest of the crew. The natives, however, did not approve of this. Soon a number of men and women went across from Ruapuki to Stewart Island, fell upon the sealers, and killed and cooked them. They then looked for their provisions. At that time they were quite unacquainted with European things. They took the flour for white ash, and amused themselves with throwing it at one another and watching the white dust fly. Then they found something that looked like provisions, and they chewed it till foam came out of their mouths (it was soap), but it was not to their taste. Still worse did the tobacco taste, which they, therefore, called Heaven's gall (Aurangi). A vessel held some black seed (gunpowder), which they scattered about as a useless thing. Then when they had satisfied themselves with the flesh of the dead men and in the evening sat around a bright fire—oh what a fright—lightning and flames of fire suddenly broke out amongst them. The fire had lit the powder they had thrown away. Some time afterwards some canoes with all their crews were lost, and no one knew for a long time what had become of them, until later some whale fishers came from Australia, who became friendly with the natives, and these brought the news that an American whaling captain known to them, when he found that the men he had left on Stewart Island had been killed and eaten, whilst sailing about, meeting some canoes, had sailed them down." *°

Thus do we learn that Captain Abimeleck Riggs took a terrible revenge upon the natives for the murder of his men. Mr Wohlers speaks of the natives having just come in contact with the Europeans. Early as the date was, we have seen that 10 years before, the Europeans traded with the natives in this locality.

As further recording the movements of the General Gates, it may be mentioned that in March, 1824, she sailed from Waihoa for Manilla²¹ and in February, 1825, was coasting out of that port.²² What became of this vessel

that commenced by stealing convicts, that experienced arrest by a man of war, that found her officers imprisoned, that ultimately had her gangs plundered and eaten by the Maoris or kidnapped by captains of sealing vessels, remains a mystery. Diligent search by the author in the shipping files of the Boston papers failed to throw any light upon the question, and the burning of the Customs records of that port seems to close up all avenues.

REFERENCES.

CHAPTER XVI.

- | | |
|--|--|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. B.D.A., Oct. 20, 1818. 2. S.G., June 3, 1819. 3. S.G., July 31, 1819. 4. H.R., Vol. V., p. 417. 5. Cruise's New Zealand, pp. 98-103, (1820). 6. S.G., Sept. 16, 1820. 7. B.D.A., Sept. 13, 1821. 8. Columbian Sentinel (Boston), Aug. 18, 1824. 9. B.D.A., June 25, 1822. 10. Tyerman and Bennett, Vol. I, pp. 151 to 163. | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 11. B.D.A., Aug. 2, 1822. 12. B.D.A., Nov. 7, 1822. 13. B.D.A., Jan. 4, 1823. 14. H.T.G., Nov. 9, 1822. 15. S.G., April 3, 1823. 16. S.G., Jan. 23, 1823. 17. No. 6106. 18. S.G., April 18, 1824. 19. Tyerman & Bennett, Vol. II., p. 44. 20. Life of J. T. H. Wohlers, p. 142. 21. B.D.A., Dec. 30, 1824. 22. B.D.A., Jan. 24, 1825. |
|--|--|

CHAPTER XVII.

RUSSIANS AT MACQUARIE ISLAND, 1820.

The first scientists to visit Macquarie Island were sent there by the Czar of the great Russian nation at the end of the decade of the nineteenth century. Alexander I. in March, 1819, decided to despatch two scientific expeditions; one to visit the northern polar sea, the other the southern. The command of the southern expedition was given to Commodore Roschmanow but that officer having suffered shipwreck and been thereby broken in health, the command of the expedition was handed over to Thaddaus Bellinghausen.

The expedition consisted of two vessels; the corvette *Wostock* under Bellinghausen personally, and the sloop *Mirnyj*, 530 tons, under Lasarew an officer who had obtained his sea training in the British marine. Both of the commanders had already circumnavigated the Globe and were men of the highest marine experience.

It is not our province to follow Bellinghausen's expedition during its long voyaging; it is sufficient to mention that it sailed from Sydney, *via* Macquarie Island, for the Antarctic, on Sunday, 31st October, 1820. Macquarie Island was sighted on 17th November. The visit of the expedition is told in the leader's own words in the narrative following and attention is called to it, first as a translation from an exceedingly rare Russian work and secondly as the best word picture of the life of the Macquarie sea-elephant hunter ever penned. When we recollect that our nation supplied, almost without exception, the skin and oil hunters of the far south during these early days, it seems marvellous that we should have to go to a Russian source to learn how they did their work.

"At three o'clock in the morning we put on sail; with the dawn the shore soon appeared before us at 82° N O which we recognised as the island Macquarie; we saw a great number of columbine storm-birds, a few albatrosses and one Port-Egmond

hen. At 5 a.m. I directed our course towards the northern end of the island. At 9 a.m., coming nearer, we perceived rocks washed by the breakers; I recognised the rocks as the very same which are indicated on the Arosmith map under the name of 'the Judge.' At 1 p.m., having gone round these rocks on the North Side for about half a mile, I directed my course to the North East side of the island Macquarie, and approaching it protected by the shore, I brought the ship to leeward, whilst I sent Mr Zavadovsky on a skiff into the bay to the lower isthmus, which divides the high northern promontory from the island. I told him to see if he could not find a streamlet where we might fill our casks with fresh water. M Mikhailof also went with Mr Zavadovsky in order to make a sketch of the view and Messrs Simanoff and Demidof accompanied them out of curiosity. M Lazaref and a few officers from the sloop *Mirny* also went on shore.

"We had imagined that the island Macquarie was covered with eternal ice and snow, like the island of Southern Georgia, as both are situated in the same hemisphere and in the same latitude. We were therefore greatly surprised when we discovered that the island Macquarie is covered with beautiful green, with the exception, of course, of the stone cliffs which are of a gloomy dark colour. We looked through the telescope and found that the coast was covered with gigantic sea-elephants, known as the *Phoca proboscidea*, and with penguins. A great number of sea birds were flying on the shore.

"At 4 p.m., I was glad to notice a rowing-vessel coming towards us from the South along the shore, on the east side of the island; soon a second vessel followed the first. These vessels belonged to traders from Port Jackson; they were sent out for the train-oil of the sea elephants; one detachment remained on the island 9 months and the other 6 months. The merchants complained that they remained four months without work, they had filled their casks and had no empty ones, and as their provisions were beginning to be scarce, they were not at all pleased to hear from us that the vessel *Marie-Elizabeth*, which was coming to take their place was still busy taking in timber at Port Jackson at the moment of our departure and could therefore not be expected so soon.

I learned from these traders that there was a great quantity of fresh water on the island, the most convenient place to fill the casks being in the middle of the island where they had camped; they offered their services. I gave orders that they should be regaled with biscuits and butter and also with grog,—of which drink, highly esteemed by them, they had been deprived for months; they grew more loquacious in consequence and offered their services even more heartily than at first.

“At 5 p.m. a big sea elephant bleeding from its wounds was swimming alongside the sloop *Vostock*; We sent another two bullets into him and a long stream of blood remained on the surface of the sea. I intended to send a boat in pursuit, but the traders told me that it was impossible to kill him in the water, whilst on the shore there were great quantities of them and we could easily pick out the finest.

“At 8 p.m. our skiffs returned; we had remained all the time near the shore whither they had been sent.

“M. Zavadovsky informed me that on approaching the shore he saw the breakers dashing against the rocks. He chose a place where the shore was steep, the swell was very heavy, but there were inlets and he managed to land, although with some difficulty; then our travellers saw before them a wide stretch covered with penguins of three different species and with huge sea-elephants, whose peaceful sleep nothing could disturb. Two species of penguins belonged to those which we had already seen before, near the island Georgia, and on the ice, whilst the third species in greater numbers than the two first, M. Saunders had already met on the island Querhelen and mentioned it in the third voyage of Captain Cook. A shot fired by M. Zavadovsky at one of the sea-elephants awoke them all, but they only opened their eyes, began to low and again fell asleep. Some of them were very big. One, however rose on his hind legs, opened his jaws and began to roar. M. Zavadovsky fired a case shot right into his mouth, at a short distance, but the monster did not fall, he only threw himself backwards into the sea, swimming away; it was evidently the same we saw wounded near our sloop.

“Continuing along the shore they noticed a row of casks with iron hoops as well as huts with closed doors: The skins taken from the sea monsters were being dried there; our travellers also noticed a great quantity of birds. M. Demidof, not budging from the spot, shot about twenty Port-Egmond hens. A little further along the shore they met a great quantity of penguins, which the merchants call ‘royal ones.’

“These penguins did not get out of the way and they had therefore to be dispersed. M. Zavadovsky and the others noticed that each bird had an egg which it kept between its legs, pressing it to its belly with the beak so that it formed a small cavity, its lower part resting on the feet, the egg was thus held tightly; in order not to drop the egg, the penguins do not run, but jump on both feet at once. Our travellers also saw a penguin covered with a shaggy skin, like that of a racoon only a little softer. On their way back M. Zavadovsky took with him one penguin with the shaggy skin, and several of the royal penguins; he also took a number of eggs, various kinds of herbs, stones and several skins of young sea-elephants and their train-oil; he also shot some Egmond-hens, sea and other gulls and one parrot, but he could find no fresh water.

“Having lifted the skiff on to the bumpkins we turned from the shore and directed our course during the night, to NNO. The wind from N.W. became stronger, the sky was covered with clouds so that we were obliged to take in two reefs in each of the top sails. The night was very dark. At 10 p.m. the same evening whilst I was walking on the deck we suddenly felt two shocks, as if the sloop had touched a shallow place. I gave orders to throw the sounding lead, but no ground was touched for 60 sashens; we therefore concluded that we had either knocked against a sleeping whale or had passed a layer of stones and knocked against it, which of course, might have been disastrous for us. The sloop *Mirny* was then under the wind across. M. Lazaref sent the lieutenant Annenkof in a rowing vessel to inform me that his sloop had touched a shallow place, but that they could find no ground with the sounding-lead for 50 sashens. This information somewhat dispelled my doubts. The two shocks felt by both vessels at the same moment could not have been caused

by a sleeping whale nor by submarine-sands. I informed M. Lazaref that exactly the same thing had happened to us and that the shocks were evidently the result of an earthquake, as only in such a case could we have felt the same number of shocks at the very same moment. Towards midnight the wind increased and we took a third reef in the top-sails. At midnight we could touch no ground with the sounding-lead for 65 sashens. I was then quite convinced that there were no shallow places in the vicinity. Before daybreak we returned towards the shore adding sail and beating to windward. We searched for a streamlet where we could fill our casks with water. At ten o'clock the traders came from the shore and pointed to their habitations, which however we could hardly distinguish from the shore, as they were very small and were of the same colour as the coast. At midday we reached the place and bringing our vessel to leeward sent rowing-boats, under the command of Lieutenant Lyeskof, with one trader on each, so that they should pilot them through the rocks; the sloops remained under sail not far from that place.

“At 2 o'clock p.m. I went on shore with Messrs Lazaref, Torson and Mikhailof; approaching the sharp rocks against which the back waves were breaking with great noise, we could see no way to the shore until lieutenant Lyeskof made a sign to us from the shore to show us where there was a passage between the rocks. We landed just at the huts. The rowing boats were quite out of danger; they were protected from the breakers by the rocks. The head-trader met us and took us into his hut which was 20 f. in length and 10 in breadth; the walls inside were covered with the skins of sea-elephants whilst outside they were covered with grass, that grew on the island. At the one end of the hut there was a fire place and a lamp in which a fire was kept continually alight. As there were neither wood nor coals, a piece of fat of sea-elephant was burning on the hearth, whilst the lamp was filled with molten fat; near the hearth stood a bedstead; in the other half of the hut the provisions were kept; it was so dark and gloomy from soot and smoke-black that the glimmering lamp-light and the chink filled up with a bladder could scarcely light the interior of the hut, and until we got

accustomed to the darkness we had to be led by the hand ; the dwellings of the other traders were better.

“The head-trader also told us that last night they had felt two shocks of an earthquake. He himself had already lived on the island Macquarie for 6 years ; occupying himself with the melting of the fat of the sea-elephant ; the *Phoca proboscidea* ; other sea animals there were none on this island, which had only recently become a centre for the majority of the merchants from Port Jackson. The abundance of sea-bears had been the cause that a great number of vessels came straight from South-Wales for the skins which were in much request in England, where a good sea-bear skin was worth as much as one guinea ; but an unlimited demand soon resulted in a complete destruction of the sea-bears.

“At present on the island Macquarie they only dealt with the fat of the sea-elephant. Having killed the sleeping animal, they cut off his fat, put it in large kettles placed on stones, so that there should be room for the fire, which is made up with the same fat. Then the casks are filled with the liquid fat. One part is sent to New South Wales, whilst the remainder is shipped direct to England, where a good price is paid for it. There were, at that moment, two parties of traders on the island, one consisting of 13 and the other of 27 men. Their manner of life was somewhat more bearable than that of the traders whom we met in South Georgia ; both live on the same sea birds, on the paws of the young sea-elephants, the eggs of the penguins and other birds ; but the traders on this island have the advantage of a better climate and have also at their disposal an excellent remedy against scurvy in the shape of a certain wild cabbage, which is found in great abundance on this island. This cabbage is distinguished from the other herbs growing on the island by its dark herbage ; it has large horizontal leaves bordered with festoons. The surface of the cabbage is dark, whilst the inner (lower) part of it is of a light green colour ; the stalks, which are about one foot long, and the leaves are rough, the colour of the middle stalk is white like that of a cauliflower ; the greatest part of the root which is about two inches wide, is on the ground and the off-shoots of the same grow into the ground. The taste of the

root is something like that of a cabbage stump. The traders scrape the root and the stalks, cut them up very thinly and boil them for soup. We collected a great quantity of that cabbage, stocking ourselves with it for our servants, whilst for the officers' table we made pickles from the roots. We prepared some tasty cabbage soup out of the (fermented) preserved pieces and regretted that we had not obtained more. The naturalists Messrs Fischer and Eichenwald in St. Petersburg afterwards examined the leaves of this herb and named it *Gunnera*, the second kind of herb they called *Cryptostyles*, whilst the third sort with which the whole island is covered they said was an undefinable, colourless herb. It appeared to us, however, to be an ordinary grass, the only difference being that it grows a little higher on account of the humidity of the climate; the sheep ate it very willingly.

“Of quadrupeds there are on the island Macquarie wild dogs, and cats, which hide among the dense herbage; they have been brought over by the Europeans and left behind. Thus Lieutenant Oberneebessof of the sloop *Mirny* left behind a dog and if the traders do not treat it kindly it will certainly join the wild dogs. We went along the sandy coast to have a look at the sea-elephants who sleep for 2 or 3 months without moving from their places. One of the traders accompanied us, he carried with him an implement with which the elephants are beaten; this implement is $4\frac{1}{2}$ ft. long and 2 inches thick, the exterior end of it has a spheric shape, is 4 or 5 inches in diameter, is iron-mounted and bound with sharp pointed nails. When we approached one peacefully sleeping elephant, the trader hit him with his implement on the bridge of the nose; the animal opened its jaws and began to roar in a plaintive voice, but had no strength to move; the trader took a knife and saying that it was a pity to see the poor beast suffer cut it four or five times in the neck, the blood welled up like a fountain, forming a circle; the elephant heaved one more sigh and died. The big elephants besides this blow with the implement, are also pierced right through the heart with a spear, so as to keep them on the spot.

“The old male animals whom we saw were about 20 ft. in length. They have a trunk of about 8 inches long and at

the end of it there are nostrils. They usually come out of the water upon the grass and lie in holes which seem to be made by the heaviness of their bodies, as the soil here is rather porous. The snout of the female elephant and of the young males resembles that of pug-dogs. They also have no trunks; on their paws which serve them as fore legs they have 5 united toes with nails; the traders use these paws as food and say that those of the young ones are very tasty. The elephants have no tails; they have large dark eyes; their skin is used to line (clout) boxes and cases.

“ We had by this time met in the Southern Hemisphere three species of penguins and all three were to be found on the island Macquarie; they do not mix on shore; each species occupies a separate place and forms a particular herd. The Albatrosses, the Port Egmond hens, the columbine stormbirds come to the island to lay their eggs and to hatch their young. During our presence there they were already hatching. The traders require no arms nor powder, they simply kill the birds with sticks and use them as nourishment, considering them a very tasty food. There is an abundance of fresh water on the island; it flows from the mountain, near the camp of the traders, and it is quite easy to fill the small casks. Besides, we have seen fresh water in many other places, where it is flowing directly into the sea, but it is not easy to make use of it on account of the breakers. To our great surprise we saw on this half-cooled down island a number of middle size parrots, all belonging to the same species. According to the traders this island was discovered by the vessel *Hazelbourg* from New South Wales in 1810 and is part, as it appears, of a submarine mountain range, the summits of which form a chain of islands, such as: New Herbid (?) New Caledonia, Norfolk, New Zealand, the islands Lord Auckland and Macquarie. The surface of the island is nearly everywhere of the same level and is covered with a porous soil overgrown with bushes and grass, similar to that in the northern regions. It is 17 miles long and 6 miles wide; its direction is $N\frac{1}{2}O S\frac{1}{2}W$. Its latitude in the middle is $54^{\circ} 38' 40''$ Southern and its longitude $158^{\circ} 40' 50''$ Eastern. The rocks known as the *Judge* and the *Scribe* are surrounded by a bank $\frac{1}{4}$ of a mile long, and are

situated in a latitude $54^{\circ} 23' 5''$ Southern, and in a longitude $158^{\circ} 45' 50''$ Eastern. On the map of Mr Arosmith the island Macquarie is situated $1^{\circ} 5'$ more towards the East, whilst the rocks the *Judge* and the *Scribe* are placed 13' more Southwards.

"The winds in this island are mostly Western, the North wind is always accompanied by humidity and rain, the South wind is very cold whilst the East wind occurs rarely but is very violent. Having no thermometer the traders could not calculate the temperature in winter; everyone described it according to his feelings and all differently. All however, agreed that ice is carried by the current in winter towards the island from the South, remaining on the coast a considerable time.

"At 5 o'clock we returned to our vessels with our booty, which consisted of 2 albatrosses, and 20 dead and one live parrot, the last one of the traders sold me for 3 bottles of rum.

"During the following inspection of the island a barge and a skiff kept the sloops constantly supplied with water."

CHAPTER XVIII.

CRUISE OF THE SNAPPER, 1822 TO 1823.

For the narrative of this visit of the Snapper to the coasts of Foveaux Strait we are indebted to the investigations of the scientists of the French Government and to the publication of these investigations in Paris in 1826. On 18th January, 1824, a French expeditionary vessel called the *Coquille*, commanded by M. Duperrey, 18 months out from France, reached Sydney and remained there until 19th March when she sailed for the Bay of Islands. On board this vessel was M. Jules de Blosseville as senior midshipman, who utilised his spare time collecting information relating to New Zealand from the captains of the various sealing vessels which then visited that country. Being at Sydney some 10 months after Edwardson returned in the Snapper he obtained access to that gentleman's diary and observations and in addition to this had the privilege of interrogating Caddell the Maori Chief and obtaining information first hand from him. The narrative following is from de Blosseville's pen.¹

"Captain Edwardson had been instructed by the Government of New South Wales with the task of gathering phormium on the southern coast of Tavai-Poenammou: he was given command of the Snapper, a colonial sloop of 29 tons: he set out from Sydney on November 6th, 1822, and sighted the coast of New Zealand on the 19th: deceived by the appearance of the country (*a*) he entered Chalky Bay, and dropped anchor at the end of the creek Canaris, near a little island, in six fathoms of water. The wind was blowing hard and the water was so shallow that in passing the north point of the opening the ship slightly struck on one of the rocks called Providence, although they are usually covered by 16 feet of water. The wind blew strongly from the north all the day; on the morrow it varied, blowing from the north east by east

with the same violence : on the 22nd from the south east, east south east by south south east in a whirl-wind : on the 23rd it jumped from south east to north west, and was accompanied by large clouds of rain and hail : on the 24th the weather became less stormy, but still rainy, the wind being north north east. At last on the 25th it was fine with the wind varying from north east to south east.

“ Captain Edwardson took advantage of the fine weather to explore the country. He found high mountains covered with snow for a third of their height. The woods were thickly tangled and impenetrable, and it was only possible to push forward by following the bed of the ravine. His search on behalf of his mission was, however, futile, for he could not find a single plant of phormium. On the 29th he changed anchoring ground, and moored his ship in the little port which goes by the name of the South Port. He had hardly dropped anchor when several sailors came on board from an American ship the “ General Gates.” Captain Riggs had left them on this coast 17 months before to hunt for seals. The unfortunate men were in a most deplorable state and looking like skeletons : they had lived miserably in horrible suffering, fearing famine as well as the natives. All help and succour that humanity could suggest was given to them, but they were so weak that they could at first only take tea. When these poor sailors, twelve in number, were left by their ship they were given two barrels of salt bacon, and dry provisions to last eight months, but very soon the place where these stores were hidden was discovered by the natives : they took possession of them after having killed and devoured the young apprentice, who was in charge. For about eight months the Americans had been hunted from place to place by the Islanders : two of them had been captured and at once eaten. Their hut at Chalky Harbour contained some disgusting specimens of their usual food : they considered themselves very lucky when they were able to have a little fish or the flesh of seals. They still had a small quantity of powder which equally divided between them all was their only means of lighting a fire in the woods when they lost their way. In spite of their miser-

able condition they had gathered together 1,165 skins of seals from various points of the coast. Mr Edwardson agreed to take them on board. A few days afterwards the Americans having recovered strength, set out with their boat on an excursion to Windsor, a little river some leagues to the south east where boats could enter.

"A long sojourn on this coast had given these sailors great experience: their advice turned Mr Edwardson from the plan he had formed of going immediately into the Strait of Foveaux, then very little known. As he was told that he would not have temperate or settled weather until the month of February, he thought that if he kept out to sea he would surely lose his ship on account of the violence of the wind which blows successively from all points of the compass, and the enormous height of the waves which sometimes rise within an hour without any previous warning. The Snapper had been considered large enough to sail on this coast, there was no time now to repent of the choice made for this voyage. Happily the little ship bore herself bravely in all circumstances.

"During the stay in Chalky Bay from the 20th November to the 26th December, the wind from the north-north west by west north west was accompanied by rough weather, heavy squalls and rain: the wind from the south east brought moderately clear weather, but they only had one really fine day.

"On the 12th December, Collins, Captain of the American boat came on board with the news that he and his companions had been completely routed by three large pirogues full of men, women and children, and a number of dogs. The unfortunate men, taken by surprise, abandoned all they possessed, and went into the woods towards Preservation Bay, which they crossed on a sort of *catamaran* hastily constructed of floating wood: they arrived in this way one after the other, except one man, who was never found. Soon a band of natives were noticed coming through the bushes round the southern headland. Mr Edwardson went towards them in his little boat, and was astonished to find amongst them a white man who spoke to them in English, and

another man called Stuart: both declared themselves fellow-countrymen. Mr Edwardson took them on board with three Chiefs. The man Stuart had come from Kangaroo Island with a wife of the country and two children to settle in New Zealand: but having with his family been taken prisoner by the natives, he had adopted their customs, and was employed by the Chiefs Paihi, Tapi and To Ouherra as a pilot round all the points of the coast and for finding all the different hiding places of the Americans. The Chiefs behaved very well on board the Snapper, and were induced to give up the small boats they had just seized.

"On the 18th December, the ship 'General Gates' dropped anchor in the North Port: Captain Riggs claimed the seal skins: they were all given to him with the exception of those belonging to three sailors, who, on account of their past sufferings would not return to their old ship: the crew was thus reduced by eight men, counting the four who had been eaten by the natives and the one who was lost. On the 22nd the boats were sent to Windsor to fetch the booty seized by the savages: the Chief Paihi forced the women to give it up in spite of all their efforts to keep what they had taken. Paihi and James Coddell, the first of the two Englishmen, embarked on the Snapper.

"On the 26th the Snapper sailed out of Chalky Bay by the South Channel and made for Foveaux Strait. On the 27th we saw to the north the country inhabited by the tribe belonging to Paihi, the village standing at the further end of an open Bay and on the slope of a hill. At half past five Old Man's Bluff Point was rounded and anchor was dropped in Port Macquarie in three and a half fathoms of water. While vainly seeking a better anchoring ground, Mr Edwardson visited the native houses built on the foreland at the opening: these formed the village of the Chief To Ouherra: they were quite deserted, so care was taken to disturb nothing. This part of the coast produced phormium in great abundance, but there was no wood to heat the water necessary for its preparation.

"On the 29th of December they set sail for the Island of Rouabouki, one of a little archipelago, which stretching from

north to south forms a sort of barrier at the eastern side of the Strait of Foveaux. A boat was first sent to take soundings and then the Snapper dropped anchor in a good port on the western side to which she gave her name. The Island itself was called Goulburn in honour of the Secretary of the Government of New South Wales, who had taken great interest in the advantages to be obtained from phormium. This is a very important place for the culture of this useful plant, and preferable to all other parts of the southern coast.

“ Mr Edwardson, accompanied by James Coddell, now his interpreter, the Chief Paihi and five sailors well armed went by land to the native village, which was at a distance of about two miles. In this expedition he crossed very extensive tracts of phormium, and found everything to confirm the report given to him of the situation and population of the village, and of the abundance of this plant. Two women were engaged to come and work near the ship with the promise of fish-hooks, nails, knives, scissors, hatchets, razors, glass beads and trinkets. They had brought two machines from Sydney, one large and one small for separating the fibrous part of the leaves of phormium from their covering, but these machines did not answer the desired purpose, and only became an object of scorn to the natives. So they were obliged to give up using them and to have recourse to other means for facilitating the work of the women. The sailors of the Snapper, after having cut the phormium, buried it in large holes or placed it in a current of water, but at the end of several days it had undergone no alteration. They were then obliged to boil it in large boilers, a long and difficult operation, as firewood is never to be found in the places where phormium grows plentifully. Ten men working eight hours, boiling and then preparing the phormium with the large machine only produced sixteen pounds,—a much smaller quantity than the women could furnish. In fact a woman working very quickly could make ready nine pounds a day, but the average result of steady work was five pounds a day. The phormium that had been boiled for twelve hours, and that which had been in the boiler for only half that time seemed to be in

about the same condition. The only instrument used by the women was a mussel shell sharpened on a stone. They sat on the ground holding the shell in the left hand, which they rested on the big toes of the right foot, and pulling the leaves toward them with the other hand.

“During the stay at Port Snapper one boat was almost always employed in seal hunting, and a good number were killed. The weather was usually bad, the wind blowing from the south west, west south west, west north west. On the 1st January 1823 the weather was particularly bad, the wind blowing violently from the west north west, accompanied by sudden and frequent squalls. The sea was too rough to land on the shore.

“On the 18th January the Snapper having got under sail lay-to off Old Man's Bluff Point. Mr Edwardson landed on the west side of this point, and opposite some houses on a beautiful beach. He only found women and children in the village, the Chief To Ouherroa was absent with the men. Continuing her route the little vessel was at noon in $46^{\circ} 37'$ south. She passed between Centre Island and the mainland. This dangerous passage was favored by a strong breeze. At three o'clock she entered Paihi Bay but not finding any shelter there, and the swell being too great to allow of any communication with the land they headed to the south and lay-to during the night. The next day they approached the coast, the Snapper entered the bay, and the Captain landed in order to go to the village to which Paihi belonged with whom he wished to conclude a bargain for phormium. Until then the relations with the tribe had been very friendly. Suddenly the natives conceived the plan of seizing the English and massacring them. Their infamous design nearly succeeded.

“Here is Mr Edwardson's account of the incident,—“I had just sent my sailors to the boat with the phormium which had been paid for when Toupi, Chief of the Island of Roubouki advised them by means of James Coddell to be ready with their arms and to launch their boat as soon as they could. At this moment I was separated from James and my companions, and was going towards the gardens when happily I understood

from some words exchanged between Paihi and the natives that they were meditating treachery and that the Chief agreed without wishing to join in it. Immediately and without knowing what had happened to the others I walked quickly towards the beach, keeping very close to Paihi. I was resolved to revenge myself on him, and on a young child he carried on his back for any harm which might happen to me, but I intended at the same time to continue our trading if I was well treated. . On arriving at the beach James and the other Englishman told me to make haste and get into the boat, which was at a little distance from the shore, because the Natives wanted to take it and then attack the vessel. . I got into the boat at once and we went towards the Snapper, leaving Paihi to follow us in his pirogue with the potatoes he wished to sell. He soon came on board, and I reproached him warmly with his perfidy. But he maintained unblushingly that he had no knowledge of the plot. I left him promising to remain at peace, trade with him and give him presents if he would be straightforward and peaceable, but threatening him at the same time to come back to his country, and lay it waste if he massacred any more white men. I also told him that in about eighteen days I should return to the Bay to take any phormium he might have ready. James asked to remain with Toupi in order to go to Ronabouki. I consented and we separated on good terms. Then it was that I discovered that during our stay on land Paihi's brother and another native were on board the sloop. It was to the fear, that they would be killed in revenge and to Providence that we owned our safety. Another circumstance also helped a little. The Chief Toupi fearing that if the boat was attacked the ship would return to his Island and destroy his tribe disclosed the plot and strongly opposed it."

"On the 20th January at noon Mr Edwardson set sail for Port Mason; fearing by the signs of bad weather he could not reach the entrance he went to Easy Harbour. The sloop passed between the islands and dropped anchor in four fathoms, the wind blowing from the north with frequent squalls and abundant rain: on the 21st it blew with renewed force, violent gusts came down the mountains from

the east to the north west with showers of rain and hail. On the 23rd the weather became less violent, and Mr Edwardson was able to visit the neighbouring country. He found the water soft, stagnant and very bad. The thick bushes were overgrown with brambles, ferns and convolvulus. The ground was rocky with a soil formed of decomposed vegetation. There were no trees to be seen. Seals hid in the thickest part of the brushwood. The sailors killed a large number of birds, amongst others, linnets, pois, whattle birds, and saddle-backs. Phormium was very scarce, but there were some beautiful bushes of it with leaves fifteen feet in length. Bad weather prevented them from visiting Kackokow one of the islands which shelter Easy Harbour. This island is interesting on account of an Englishman's stay there. The unfortunate man pursued by natives hid himself in a cave on this island, and managed to subsist on shell fish. After a long time he was rescued by a passing ship and taken back to Port Jackson.

“On the 6th February the wind having changed from west to south west they put to sea again, and during the whole of the crossing Mr Edwardson took his bearings frequently in order to make a map. On the 8th the Snapper entered Codfish Harbour, formed by the island which bears this name, (b) and Stewart Island. She dropped anchor in seven fathoms with sandy bottom, well sheltered. The north point of Codfish Island was a mile to the north west by west; the rocks out to sea off Raggedy Point to the north north east, four miles away.

“After staying a day, the Snapper got under sail for Paihi Bay, stopping broadside on before the village. The Chief came on board with three hundred pounds of phormium, and received in return knives and iron tools. Passing afterwards by the north of Centre Island, the current drew the ship between this island and Triangle Rocks. There they were becalmed and dropped anchor in twenty-three fathoms.

“On the 11th the sloop entered Port Williams by the north coast of Stewart Island, and dropped anchor in a sheltered spot in three fathoms and a quarter. The weather was very bad; wind and rain coming with redoubled force

announced a violent gale from the west. Indeed on the 16th and 17th they experienced a frightful hurricane from the west point south west by west north west. The sea was so rough that the entrance to the harbour was like a line of breakers. In the sheltered places even the wind caught the surface of the water and caused a surf of eighteen or twenty feet on the shore. Hail and rain fell in torrents,—it was a terrible storm. On the 17th the weather calmed.

“The Snapper set out on the 25th for the Island of Ronabouki and the next day dropped anchor in six fathoms and a half in the harbour to which she had given her name. Mr Edwardson seeing that in spite of all his efforts he was not able to load his ship with prepared phormium only, shipped a large quantity of potatoes for Sydney and left the Island of Ronabouki on March 5th.

“On leaving the harbour the sloop proceeded to Port Macquarie, and lay-to before the sandy beach, near the village of To Ouherroa. The captain made a present to this chief, receiving from him a small quantity of phormium and agreed to take one of his relatives with him to Port Jackson. They afterwards went to Paihi Bay. There the chief also brought them some phormium, but the waves were too high for his pirogue to bring any more. He seemed to regret that his Bay was not suitable for ships, and pointed out a good harbour more to the east. This information was however false.

“Bad weather and the direction of the wind prevented the Snapper from reaching Chalky Bay. She went in sight of land but was forced to put about. On the 8th, the wind blowing a gale from the north west, she was carried to Port Mason where she found a sheltered place in three fathoms of water with sandy bottom. On the 10th the wind subsided making the round of the compass. The weather was dull and wet. On the 11th the breeze freshened from the north east, rain fell in torrents and the weather looked very bad. At four o'clock in the morning squalls came up from the east north east and at nine o'clock they were out at sea. At noon the hurricane burst with such violence that the strongest and heaviest man could not keep on his feet against the wind. The ship laboured heavily. At eight

o'clock the wind subsided and a deluge of rain fell. On the 12th the sloop set sail for Chalky Bay. On the north of Port Mason is a long reef stretching three miles and a half to the north west point west from the north point of the island.

"On the 13th the Snapper dropped anchor in Chalky Harbour in ten fathoms. On the 14th she set sail again and arrived at Sydney on the 28th of March.

"The ships cargo consisted of tow of phormium, specimens of the plant in different states, potatoes, skins of birds, articles of dress, and objects of curiosity belonging to the natives. The collection of birds was fairly large, the naturalists thinking that it contained many new kinds.

"The ill success of the Snapper's voyage having shown the defects of the instructions given and the need for a larger ship, they sent the next year on the same errand the sloop Mermaid, formerly employed in taking the plans of the north-west coast of Australia, and a scheme was drawn on a much larger scale for a voyage to be made by a brig around Tavai-Poenammou."

NOTES.

(a) *The points of most of the headlands found in the neighbourhood of Dusky Bay and Chalky Bay are shaped like the fingers of a hand upraised.*

(b) *The natives named this island Fenoua-ho (New Land). This island has only lately been discovered by the natives since they have extended their maritime expeditions.*

As the voyage of the Snapper had chiefly for its object the collection of a cargo of phormium, it seems appropriate to add here the observations on the Phormium or New Zealand flax, by Edwardson, Master of the Snapper. This information was also supplied by him to the Coquille Expedition. *

"This very useful plant of which there are seven known varieties more or less suitable for divers purposes, generally grows near the sea, on low and swampy plains. Its stem attains sometimes a height of fourteen feet, but the length of the leaves is rarely more than from ten to twelve. The length is only 10 feet even when the leaves are fully grown but as

the ends have to be cut off, being good for nothing, threads of five feet can only be reckoned on. The roots penetrate two feet into the soil; the plants are propagated by shoots and not by seeds, as is commonly believed, at least this is what the natives say. It was not possible to make sure in what time a shoot once planted would attain its full growth.

"The lower part of the plant, near the roots, is extremely bitter; the native women make use of them when they wish to wean their children, rubbing the extremities of their breast with the juice. When a young plant is broken off at about a foot from the soil each break furnishes a small quantity of a white and transparent gum.

"It is believed that the seed ripens in September and October, for in November there are no more to be seen. When it is squeezed it gives a yellowy scarlet colour with which the natives dye their mats. Before the seed is formed the stalk bears a red flower at the extremity; at a certain period the natives crush it; it then contains a little water of an agreeable flavour; of this they are very fond. When the stalks have been well dried they are used by the natives in the making of catamarans in which they cross the arms of the sea and lakes during their travels along the coasts.

"This plant is used for various purposes; it furnishes clothing, roofs for the huts, cordage, the largest nets and the string with which to attach the pieces of wood of which the canoes are composed.

"As the natives are very indolent and never prepare a larger store of flax than is indispensable for their needs a very large quantity roots, &c., is lost. If a systematic trade could be established with the islanders, regular cuttings would tend to improve the plant and to increase its production."

Press references tell us that Captain Edwardson returned with his vessel laden with curiosities of almost every kind from New Zealand. During the trip he had the misfortune to lose one of his seamen, William Bales, who was supposed to have fallen a victim to savage barbarity.³

The whole of Edwardson's reports show him to be a man of more than ordinary intelligence and of considerable scientific attainments. He was a prominent Mason, and in

November, 1825, as W.M. of the Leinster Marine Lodge of Australia, No. 266, held under warrant from the Grand Lodge of Ireland, signed an address to Governor Thomas Brisbane.*

During the last year of his life he was in the pilot service at Sydney, and the closing scene of all is thus recorded in the Sydney Gazette of Saturday 4th February, 1826.

Died.

At his residence Sydney, universally respected, on Thursday last, Mr W. L. Edwardson, of the Pilot Service.

A Press notice describes him as "deputy harbour master and pilot for some years past and appeared to be generally esteemed, particularly among his masonic brethren." †

His name is preserved to us in Edwardson Sound, the northern arm of Chalky.

REFERENCES.

CHAPTER XVIII.

1. *Nouvelles Annales des Voyages* (Paris 1826),
Tome XXIX., pp, 145 to 161.
2. *Nouvelles Annales des Voyages* (Paris 1826),
Tome XXIX., pp, 173 to 174.
3. S.G., Ap. 3, 1823.
4. S.G., Nov. 28, 1825.
5. *Australian*, Feb. 9, 1826.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE NATIVES, 1823.

In addition to the work done by Captain Edwardson in developing the flax trade in Foveaux Strait that gentleman has also provided a most complete and interesting account of the natives of the south of New Zealand. Beyond the few scraps of information regarding the natives, which came under public notice in connection with their cannibal assaults upon sealing gangs, Captain Edwardson's information is the sole contribution made to science on the subject of the South Island natives. Like the rest of the captain's information it comes down to us through the Coquille expeditionary officers, in the shape of an Essay published in the *Nouvelles Annales des Voyages* (Paris 1826). Tome XXIX., p. 161. The author subjoins a translation of this interesting and instructive contribution to New Zealand Ethnology.

ESSAY ON THE MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE INHABITANTS OF THE SOUTHERN PART OF TAVAI-POENAMMOU.

“As up to the present we have had no definite information concerning the southern tribes of New Zealand, this sketch of their manners should be of interest. It will show that these savage people are in no way less cruel nor less warlike than the natives of the North Island and that generally they very much resemble them. The natives of Ika-na-Mauwi have been very truthfully described by travellers as being mendacious, superstitious, slanderous, proud, cruel, dirty and greedy but at the same time brave, cautious, respectful to the aged, kind parents and faithful friends; these vices and good qualities are also the characteristics of the inhabitants of Tavaï-Poénammou.

“The natives who inhabit the shores of Foveaux Strait are of medium height, well proportioned, stout and robust; in

colour they are darker than mulattoes, but the shade is changed by the diagrams and the deeply cut designs which they tatoo on their skins. The women are generally short and there is nothing conspicuous about their appearance, they consider tatooing as a prerogative of the nobility. These people, in their savage state, are treacherous, cunning, and vindictive and push these vices to extremes. The greatest kindness and the longest friendship are counted as nothing when compared with some slight momentary offence. They are cannibals to the full extent of the word, and far from making any mystery of it they describe with complaisance their odious practices. Addicted alike to theft and lying they live in a condition of perpetual mistrust. Each has his own special retreat in the forests, where he hides everything he possesses. Their perversity is carried to such a degree that any idea of crime is foreign to them, and the guilty receive no punishment. If a chief pilfers anything from another, war breaks out at once between the two tribes, but if the larceny is committed on one of the common people, this latter can only indemnify himself by retaliating upon individuals of his own rank; he has no recourse against a well born thief. War is the ruling passion of these pillage-loving tribes; it is to their system of destruction that must be attributed the smallness of the population. They only attack openly when they feel assured of their superior strength and of a rich booty. In this case the loss of a few warriors of the lower class is not taken into account; but, on the contrary, if a chief be killed, his party gathers together his friends and his relatives and when victory rewards the band, death becomes the inevitable fate of the whole tribe of the murderers. If, on the contrary, the band does not feel itself strong enough, trickery comes to its assistance; it tries to surprise and capture a few of its enemies and appeases its wrath in devouring them. The death of these unfortunates is seldom avenged. All the prisoners are adopted by the victorious chiefs, or else killed and devoured; their heads are preserved by a very simple process. The person who prepares these heads must not eat during the first twenty-four hours. During the second day he must not even touch any provisions, his food is given him by

a slave. These men are armed with a spear about 20 to 30 feet in length, one of from 10 to 14 feet, and the pattou-pattou, which is to the natives of New Zealand what the dagger and the knife are to the Italians and the Spaniards. They never throw the longer spear, and seldom the shorter one but they rush up at once and fight with the pattou-pattou, which is made out of a whale bone or a piece of the green stone which they call *poénammou*.

"The children are very mirthful and display great friendship for each other. They display a remarkable agility in their exercises. They amuse themselves by making kites, whips, and other playthings and little canoes; they dance together and use slings. The young men are not considered to have reached full manhood until they have attained the age of twenty; then, if they have learnt how to use the spear and the pattou-pattou and if they are of a certain development they are tattooed all over and are declared warriors. The operation of tattooing round the eyes often causes them frightful sufferings of which the result is sometimes blindness.

"All these islanders, men and women alike, are modest. They observe upon this point most scrupulous strictness and are always completely covered by their clothes which consist of a rude mat made of flax and daubed with red ochre. Over this, in cold and rainy weather they wear a second one made out of the bark of a tree named the *ohé*; the first mat is the work of the women, the other is made by the men. Their hair is gathered in a knot on the top of the head; on special occasions the men deck themselves with large white feathers which they fix horizontally in the knot and attach others at the same time to their ears. The women also adorn themselves with garlands of red and white flowers and with greenery which they arrange with distinct taste. Red is their favourite colour and shares with green branches the honour of being the emblem of peace. These leafy ornaments are not worn from any religious ideas, they are simply adornments. These savages cannot endure either the white or black colours; they cover themselves with paint and ornament themselves with flowers on the approach of a stranger whom they greet with these words, *miti arowi*, at the same time

rubbing their noses against his, a very disagreeable ceremony for the visitor, but the only proof of his safety. Polygamy is permitted; during the absence of their husbands the wives are prodigal of their favours without distinction; the husband indeed considers himself flattered by all the attentions which a white man may pay his wife.

“Old age is the object of profound respect: even a chief gives food to a man of low rank whom old age has deprived of his faculties, but no sentiment of affection is the motive of these good deeds. Nevertheless nowhere are the laws of friendship and the ties of relationship more respected. The men live generally to the age of eighty, and the women from 85 to 90. Upon the death of a chief, his tribe assembles and delivers itself up to joy. Birds, eels, potatoes are eaten but no entrails or raw meat. Half an hour after death the head is cut off and preparations are made for preserving it. The body, placed in a box which is stood upright in a hut built on purpose, remains there for two years; after which the bones are taken out and burned and the coffin receives a new occupant. Common people and slaves are enveloped after death, in their own mats, and thrown, like dogs, into a hole dug behind the huts; sometimes, but very rarely the friends of the defunct come and weep over his tomb for about half an hour; after which no one troubles about him for a long time. It frequently happens that the body of a defunct of this class is taken away and eaten during the night but this is a crime punishable by death. If this body remains buried, the bones are taken out after a certain time and are burnt. The bones of vanquished enemies are not consumed by fire; fish hooks, flutes and other objects are made from them and are worn as trophies. Death preys severely upon children of two years of age; the same ceremonials are observed for them as for their chiefs; women also are treated in the same way; with the exception of slaves whose bodies are immediately burned.

“The principal diseases of these islanders appear to be elephantiasis and pian (the yaws) a malady very common in the Antilles; it appears to be caused by extreme indolence and the habit of remaining seated upon ashes in the huts.

Natives can be seen who have lost their feet and hands ; their bodies are frightfully thin and their extremities rot away. Many of them also suffer from scrofula. Although diseases of the eyes are common amongst them as a result of tattooing and of the smoke in their huts, blindness is rare before old age and generally it is the women who are attacked. Diseases of the teeth and deafness are unknown. When a limb is broken or dislocated it is placed back again in its natural position and is fastened with splints and palm leaves and exposed twice a day to the steam from dampened herbs thrown on the fire.

“In building their villages the natives select the slope of a hillock facing a point on the beach where they can land and remove everything which could prevent their seeing the canoes and ships arrive. Their houses are neat and substantial ; they are sixteen feet in height, ten in width and thirteen in length. The floor, which is raised a foot above the ground is covered with a kind of wattling bound together with creepers ; small openings are left in which they light fires when the weather is cold and wet. When a native falls ill, or a woman is about to bear a child, a small hut is built specially, a few fathoms away from the other houses ; it is set fire to when it is no longer occupied. As a rule the gardens are situated a certain distance from the houses. Potatoes, cabbages and other kitchen vegetables introduced by the Europeans are cultivated. During the winter season the potatoes are preserved by the same process as that employed by the Irish.

“The men hunt, fish, build the houses, construct canoes and work in the garden ; but they would rather die than carry their provisions ; the women carry all the burdens. During the fine weather season, they kill the albatross, wild fowl, seals and rats, etc., etc. They smoke these animals and preserve them whole, closed up in bags, for several months. These winter provisions are sheltered from the rats on a platform placed on the top of a smooth post to which they ascend by means of a movable ladder. They make fire by rubbing quickly a pointed stick in the groove of the same kind of wood, the dust of which ignites in an instant. Their manner of cooking food consists in roasting meat or fish on the fire, or else they scoop out a hole in the ground, heat therein a large

number of stones, wrap up what they wish to cook in green leaves and then cover up the whole with earth. The crew of the Snapper adopted this method in baking their bread by means of red hot stones. Their canoes, which are well constructed and decorated with carvings, do not well resist a heavy sea, but when the sea is calm and smooth the rowers can send them along at a great speed. The war canoes are generally plain, and are from 70 to 100 feet in length; this is also the number of warriors and rowers; they travel with an extraordinary swiftness. The large fishing nets are from one to two miles in length and between ten to twelve feet in width; they are made of the fibres of the phormium without any preparation. The sea is full of fish.

"Fresh water is found almost everywhere but it is not always of a pleasant taste. The country is infested by rats; no venomous reptile is to be met with. Small bats, iguanas, lizards, mosquitoes in great numbers, large flies, bees, crickets and grasshoppers are all plentiful. The sight of a lizard frightens the islanders although they often eat more unclean animals. These people had no pigs at the time of the Snapper's visit. Captain Edwardson gave them several, of which they have taken the greatest care. They appear to have fully understood the importance of this gift.

"The inhabitants of Tavaï-Poénammou believe that a Supreme Being has created everything, except that which is the work of their hands, and that he will do them no harm, they call him *Maaouha*. *Rockou-noui-étoua* is a good spirit whom they supplicate night and day to preserve them from all evil. *Kowkoula* is the Spirit, or *Etoua* who rules the world during the day, from sunrise to sunset. They call upon *Rockou-noui-étoua* and *Kowkoula* to come to their aid. *Rock-iola* is the Spirit of night, the cause of death, of diseases and of all the accidents which may happen during the hours of his reign. It is for this reason that the natives call upon him and *Rockounoui-étoua* during the night. There exist fabulous traditions on the subject of a man or a woman who dwells in the moon. The beautiful and curious articles which they see in the hands of the Europeans make them regard the latter as a species of devils or spirits, *hétouas*. They watch the white

men with the closest attention and spy upon their doings. Dissimulation, which amongst these people, spoils some good-natured inclinations, their vindictive character and their crafty spirit make them sensitive to the slightest offence; it then becomes most difficult to pacify them. If one chief receives a less valuable present than that given to another or if a present be made to one of the common people, the anger of the first knows no bounds. This touchiness makes the position of a stranger, who negotiates with these people and who, whatever happens, must try to please everybody, most awkward. The deaths of several white people may be attributed to the lack of a prudent conduct. Amongst the numerous victims of the ferocity of the islanders may be mentioned Captain Tucker and the crew of his cutter; five men from the cutter of the *Sydney Cove*, a whaling vessel, killed by Hunneghi, chief of *Oouai* on the coast of Foveaux Strait; four men from the schooner *The Brothers* massacred at Molineux Harbour; several sailors from the *General Gates*, and finally, three lascars of the brig *Matilda* who had deserted on account of ill treatment. Three others, who were spared, taught the natives the manner of attacking the Europeans during the heavy rains when their guns could not be used and also how to dive in order to cut the cables of the vessels during the night.

“James Coddell, an ex-sailor on the *Sydney Cove*, was captured at the age of sixteen years and had spent as many more years amongst the natives of Tavaï-Poénammou when the *Snapper* took him to Port Jackson, where the officers of the *Coquille* saw him. The man, who had married a young native woman, named Tougghi-Touci, had so fallen into the manner of life of these savages that he had become quite as open a cannibal as any of them. He had embraced their ideas and beliefs, accepted with faith their fables, had yielded to all their customs, so much so that one might have believed that New Zealand was his true native country. His vicious and crafty nature had caused him to be favourably received by the natives. In the first interviews he had with Captain Edwardson he had some trouble to make himself understood, and had so greatly forgotten his mother tongue that it was difficult for

him to act as interpreter. He was considered a very dangerous man, but by not placing too great a confidence in him they found him of considerable assistance."

NOTES BY MR HONE HEKE, M.H.R.

On being referred to and after conference with Mr T. Parata, M.H.R., the native representative of Tavai Pošnamu, Mr Heke commented thus on the native names:—

"*Ohe*.—Not known.

"*Maaouha*.—I think this is meant for "Maui."

"*Rockou-noui-etoua*.—The proper Maori spelling is "Atua," and the pronunciation would be "Rakao-nui-a-atua," meaning the Big Tree of God.

"*Kowkoura*.—This, by the sound, is meant, I think, for "Kaikoura," meaning "eating crayfish."

"*Rockiola*.—This, I think, is meant for "Rangiora." "Rangi" is day and "Ora" is life.

"*Miti arowi*.—"Arowi," I think, is meant for "Aroha." As to "Miti," I do not know.

"It appears to me that the Europeans were actually misinformed, as the customs of the Maoris of that period were too sacred, and it was always a rule to keep all matters of this kind a secret except from the chiefs and tohungas."

H. H.

CHAPTER XX.

FIRST COASTAL DESCRIPTION, 1823.

M. Jules de Blosseville made good use of the stay of the Coquille at Port Jackson in not only procuring for us from Captain Edwardson the account of the voyage of the Snapper and the essay upon the manners and customs of the inhabitants of the South Island, but also in interviewing the various captains of sealers at Sydney and giving us a descriptive sketch of the conditions surrounding that trade and of the character of the coast line. It shows us what detailed knowledge they possessed of the coast and makes us wonder that such knowledge was in existence, while the charts remained so incomplete. Probably the explanation given of the class of men engaged in the sealing trade and the absence of the scientist, produced this result. It is not at all complimentary to our national vanity, to be indebted to another nation for a record of the doings of our own people in South New Zealand, in the first days of its trade. De Blosseville's information, as reproduced by himself to the French Nation, is extracted from the same source (pages 18-32) as the two preceding chapters and is here given.

ISLAND OF TAVAI-POENAMMOU.

"The coast of Ika-Na-Mauwi was one of the weak points in Cook's exploration. The entire island of Tavaï-Poénammon, with the exception of Queen Charlotte's Sound, shares in Cook's account the same poverty of interest as the Southern Coast. There is nothing of importance till Dusky Bay is reached. This immense labyrinth was the only locality visited and then only with little success. Vancouver went in there afterwards, but added only a few details to those which the first passage of the Englishmen had made known. The Natives, who were hardly ever seen, consist of only a single family not permanently settled in this district and one can

well imagine, that the very slight relations to be had with savages of a very distrustful character would furnish but a few facts for observers. The natural history of the district was alone studied in a fairly efficient manner. The geography of the region leaves much to be desired. That is Cook's own opinion. I do not under-rate the excellent work done, as I am aware of all the various causes, which prevented it being more perfect. My only object now is to indicate the immensity of the task, which still remains to be completed. This task naturally belongs to the people, who by an ambitious desire for possession, have extended their government over these countries and the neighbourhood of the admirable colony of Port Jackson should provide the English with all facilities possible for attaining their end. At the same time it was no liberal ideas but merely the love of gain, which brought the English to these stormy coasts.

“The spirit of discovery and adventure led to the belief, that the hunting of the seals, which frequent these rugged shores would produce large profits. The results came up to the expectations and this mine of wealth, opened up by the colonists of Sydney, and shared only with the Americans, is not yet exhausted. When a ship is fitted out for an expedition of this kind, it is provisioned for the whole duration of the campaign and its crew shares in proportion in the profits. How powerful must be the love of gain, when it can induce men to support the fatigues and privations, which fall to the lot of the seal fishers! Having arrived on a shore which appears promising, they embark in boats, and leaving the ship sometimes for several days, they explore the smallest bays and storm beaten rocks, knowing that where the sea is the most stormy, there will the animals, which they pursue, be the most numerous. The least useful men are left on the ship as a guard. The vessel remains in a safe haven and receives any necessary repairs,—sometimes even it is partially dismantled. Often is it the case, that if the hunt promises to be lucky, a detachment of eight sailors is left on these savage coasts with their arms, a boat, powder and such provisions as are necessary. The ship, which may be considered as a floating metropolis, then goes away to distant islands to establish

other temporary colonies, separated at times by several thousand leagues. At the end of several months,—sometimes even a year, and longer still,—the men, who compose these little colonies, with the fruits of their labours, are called for,—that is, when they do not become the victims of a disastrous wreck, of which they know nothing, and which cuts them off from the entire world, but of which they would prefer the danger to the uncertainty which torments them. A long sojourn and continual exploration make them acquainted with the smallest inlets, the most hidden retreats, the full nature of the coast and the prevailing winds. No peculiarity of the region escapes their notice. They become acquainted with the productions of the soil and the animals which it nourishes; even the interior of the country, on whose coasts they have settled, often becomes the goal of their expeditions.

“The seal fishing industry deserves separate consideration, and the only reason, why I touched on this subject, was that I wished to show with what care and in what detail the fishers explore the shores they visit. Did they possess the zeal and the knowledge which are necessary to ensure exactitude the maps which they might draw would be of great value, because they would then be complete on every point. But as they are pressed for time and have none to spare for exact methods the details, they supply, can hardly be considered suitable for the filling in of the rough outline which Cook has left us. His principal definitions will therefore be preserved, and any new discoveries inserted in their proper place, until such time as a scientific navigator can verify and co-ordinate the whole.

“The seal fishery is not the only speculation, which has attracted vessels to these shores. Many have simply put in to the harbours for water, and others have collected cargoes of pine timber and flax (*Phormium tenax*) which grows here in abundance. It was to collect this useful plant, that the sloop *Snapper*, was despatched in 1822-3, by the Sydney government. Captain Edwardson, the commander, lent me his journals, from which I have compiled the account of his voyage, which will be found at the end of this narrative. I have thought it undesirable to omit any of his hydrographical and meteorological data. It is certain that sailors at least would have had

reason to complain had I acted otherwise. The island of *Tavai-Poénammou* has certainly been much more carefully explored than that of *Ika-na-Mauwi*. Nevertheless it is much less known. It is only in quite recent maps that the supposed Banks Isle is shown to be joined to the mainland by a sandy isthmus, that Stewart Island is separated from the main island by Foveaux Strait and that Ports Pegasus, Facile and Mason are duly marked.

“These corrections are due to the English vessel *Pegasus*, but the existence of Milford Sound, Chalky Bay, Preservation Inlet, Macquarie Harbour and Snapper and Williams Harbours is only known to a small number of persons.

“The Southern New Zealanders have only occupied the two extremities of their island and a few points on the eastern side. The west coast of the island is but one long solitude, with a forbidding sky, frequent tempests, and impenetrable forests. The height and rugged nature of the mountains, combined with the constant humidity of the soil are local circumstances which have impeded the development of the population. Two other powerful reasons must be added, the barbarous habits of the natives and the lack of animals and useful vegetables, which have not long been introduced amongst them. These islanders possess well built canoes, notwithstanding which they never travel far away from their settlements, and unlike the natives of the North Island, they have supplied no information as to their coasts to the Europeans. They have only given a little information as to the interior of their island whence they sometimes penetrate. When engaged in these laborious journeys, they travel generally about ten miles a day through the woods, stop for sleep at sunset and only set out again an hour after sunrise. From these travellers it has been learnt that an active volcano exists about 120 miles, or twelve days' journey to the north of Foveaux Strait and that not far from there is to be found the greenstone, or *Poénammou*, which is so precious to these islanders, that the search for it can alone attract them so far from their homes. This district has become a general meeting place for all the natives, even for those of the North Island; the object of the journey is sufficient to make them surmount every obstacle.

“I shall now proceed to set down certain information, which is all the more reliable in that it originates from Europeans alone. From the data so obligingly furnished me by Captains Edwardson, Charlton and other English seamen I will describe those harbours of the southern coast, which are not to be found on any maps, afterwards giving certain information which has appeared of interest to me on the general character of the island. I shall commence by Milford Sound which has been recently discovered.

“MILFORD SOUND.—This harbour, which is situated on the west coast, may be marked (on the map) according to the position of the southern headland at its entrance which is to be found in $44^{\circ} 35'$ southern latitude. At about five miles towards the south may be observed an opening, which appears to lead into a harbour, and which might cause a dangerous mistake were the weather hazy. Great care must therefore be exhibited when the wind blows from the offing. In front of the entrance to Milford Harbour is a rock, which has the appearance of a ship under sail. As it stands about five miles from the harbour, it is an excellent guide; the channel to the south of this rock is the best, the northern passage being dangerous. A mile past the southern headland is a little island close to a projecting point of the land. Keeping close in to this island, a southern direction should then be taken, anchoring in the most suitable position. The depth varies from 10 to 5 fathoms. No inhabitants are to be found on this part of the island. In the forests spars of excellent quantity, large enough to serve as top masts for ships of the first class, are to be found in abundance. Enormous mountain ranges covered with perpetual snows can be seen in the interior.

“Between Milford Sound and Dusky Bay, there are several little bays or inlets, which deserve the attention of navigators, but I do not possess sufficiently exact information to attempt their description.

“DUSKY BAY.—I have no details of importance to add to the information given by Cook and Vancouver. I only know that Facile Harbour and Luncheon Cove are preferred by the numerous ships, which are attracted to the bay by the seal

fishery and that these animals frequent by preference Five Finger Point, Green Island and Iron Island.

“**CHALKY BAY.**—To the south of West Cape is to be found the entrance of Chalky Bay, in the middle of which stands Chalky Island, from which the name of the Bay is derived. This island, which was noticed by Cook on his second voyage, resembles the Isle of Wight on the south coast of England and is formed of rocks of a whiteish colour. The chart, which accompanies this narrative, renders a detailed description unnecessary, but it may be useful to state that the safest passage, by which to enter, is that on the south, leaving on the star-board side the table rock, which projects a few yards above the water. The bay, which extends in a north-westerly direction, is exposed to the winds from this quarter. They blow with great violence and vessels might find themselves in some danger although there is good anchor-hold and the shores are very steep. The best anchorages in all weathers are the northern and southern harbours; the first is especially preferable, for a vessel in distress it is a veritable basin. Rivulets and cascades afford easy watering but no river flows into this bay, which is as much frequented by the whalers as Dusky Bay.

“**PRESERVATION BAY.**—This bay lies directly to the south of Chalky Bay. It is also deep but much less safe. Ships rarely anchor there and I have only marked it on the map from a carelessly drawn sketch-chart. I trust that the inaccuracies of this rough chart may be corrected. The South West coast of Poénammon is so cut up by inlets that a canal two or three miles long would establish an inland communication between the three bays, Dusky, Chalky, and Preservation, which take up thirteen leagues in all and whose extreme arms almost come together at the same points, forming two great peninsulas.

“**WINDSOR RIVER.**—This little river, navigable by ships, is all the more remarkable in that no other river is known on this coast. The sea breaks with great violence on the bar when the wind blows from the west.

“**PORT MACQUARIE.**—This harbour, the only one we know of on the south coast, is merely according to Captain Edwardson,

an open bay, dangerous and much worse even than that of the same name on the east coast of Australia. It is blocked by sand banks, separated by a narrow channel, and the tides are so strong that a boat manned by five sailors can hardly master the current. The Old Man's Bluff point, at the entrance of the harbour, appears to be incorrectly named, for it slopes downwards and ends in some low lying rocks. I believe that Port Macquarie is known to many seamen under the name of Massacre Bay, some English sailors having been killed there by the natives, whose provisions they had plundered.

"PORT SNAPPER.—This harbour is reputed to be very good. It lies on the west coast of Rouabonki Island which is also known as Green Island and Goulburn Island.

"STEWART ISLAND—PORT WILLIAMS.—The seal fishers all praise this harbour which is situated on the north coast of Stewart Island; it appears to be well sheltered. Its depth is from 8 to 10 fathoms with a sandy bottom.

"On the banks of a fresh water creek extends a great plain covered with fine trees, of the pine species, which are of excellent quality. Although the ground is swampy it produces no flax (*Phormium tenax*).

"Stewart Island possesses several other harbours which are not well known. To those which bear the name of Pegasus, Cod Fish Harbour, Mason Harbour, and Easy Harbour I shall not refer as I have found them all marked on a good map by Noxie, published in 1820. This same map has supplied me with the latitudes, which I have copied in preference to those of Captain Edwardson, whose authority did not seem to me to be sufficiently reliable to warrant the alteration of definitions already adopted by geographers. All the longitudes are based upon that of Cape West as to which the observations of Cook and Vancouver are in agreement. I believe that the chart, which accompanies this account, will rectify many errors, but I am far from believing it to be exempt from inaccuracies, in spite of the trouble I have taken to co-ordinate the data that I had at my disposal. On this chart *two Solander Islands* will be noticed, separated by a narrow channel which Captain Edwardson says he saw when passing between these islands and the Middle Island.

“FOVEAUX STRAIT.—All the navigators who have visited Foveaux Strait have been struck by the resemblance it offers to Bass Strait and this similarity has seemed to them to be almost as exact in detail as in general outlines. Indeed Solander Island is situated, very nearly, in the same position as King Island, at the western entrance of the Strait. The chain of the Rouabouki Islands represents that of the Four-neaux Islands, the land is, in both instances, lofty on the southern side and low on the northern side, where the mountains are distant from the shore; Raggedy Point resembles West Cape, and Port Macquarie recalls Port Phillip and Western Harbour. Finally, if it is desired to extend this comparison to Tasmania and Stewart Island, *Port Dalrymple* may be represented by *Port Williams*, and Entrêcastreaux Channel replaced by Port Pegasus. The spectacle of isolation presented by two of the great promontories which face the South Pole has attracted the attention of scientists. To the valuable observations of these gentlemen may be added a new fact rendered more curious by a detailed comparison and more intelligible by reference to the map. The currents are much stronger in *Foveaux Strait* than in *Bass Strait* and the tides are also very different. Whirlpools are frequently to be met with and the position is one of great peril, when the direction of the waves is contrary to that of the wind. The most dangerous passage is between the centre island and the mainland; it would be most imprudent to attempt it in a light wind or at nightfall. The flow and the ebb rush through alternatively during the course of a tide, from all points of the horizon, with a speed of sometimes as much as from 5 to 6 miles. The water rises 10 feet and at new and full moon there is high tide at three in the afternoon. The triangular rocks which are visible at low water add to the danger.

“The winds most to be feared in these latitudes blow from south west to west by north west. They prevail in the months of December, January and February and are sometimes replaced by squalls from the east. Should a vessel be caught by one of these squalls in the Strait, it must get out of the Strait and gain the offing to the west with all possible speed.

“Without going into details as to the remarkable fertility

of the North Island and as to the products of every description, which it can supply, I have indicated how prodigal Nature has been in its favours to this region. I might even have contended that this superiority of natural advantages could not be challenged by any of the numerous islands of Oceanica or any part of Australia. If, however, a glance be cast upon the South Island, which is separated from its northern neighbour by a strait of only a few miles in width, there is nothing to be seen but the picture of a complete upheaval. Its surface is covered by enormous masses of mountains which, after raising to the sky their naked peaks whose barrenness is often hidden by snow, become clothed, toward their base, by a rich verdure and descend to the sea with suddenness and rapidity. No river can make its bed between their sides, so close are they together; the accumulated waters form rapid torrents, or else they burst forth, and leaping over every obstacle, fall to the sea in cascade after cascade. Those only, who have seen these wild landscapes and these scenes of disorder, which are caused by the action of subterranean fire, can possibly describe them, but even a rough glance at the map will furnish the observer with one curious fact, relating to hydrography and this fact again shows the most striking contrast, which exists between the two islands.

“In the place of the splendid rivers of the North Island which bear to the numerous harbours the tribute of their waters, or which themselves form at their mouths bays as spacious as secure, in the South Island there are only vast gulfs, whose numerous arms conduct the waters of the ocean into the interior of the land. The traveller, who penetrates to the inland extremity of these deep inlets, only finds a few scanty rivulets, at every moment he meets with the same disappointment that he encounters on the coasts of Australia. All the bays of *Tavai-Poénamou* terminate indeed in the same manner as do the bays and gulfs of this curious continent and I would cite, in support of this fact, to which there is no exception, Queen Charlotte Sound, Admiralty Bay, Milford Sound, Dusky, Chalky and Preservation Bays, and finally Port Pegasus. I am even inclined to think that Blind Bay, Dark Bay (*La Baie Sombre*) and Cloudy Bay were they more

carefully examined would still further strengthen this statement.

“Fine trees, useful for all maritime purposes, flax in abundance and numerous seals whose furs are very valuable—these are the resources that *Tavai-Poénammou* has to offer. At one time they attracted the attention of an industrious people (the Americans) but it appears that the project of establishing a factory (for the fur trade) has been abandoned for political reasons. The study of these limited advantages as well as the existence of certain favourable situations and of several districts suitable for agriculture, may soften the gloomy colours of the picture I have endeavoured to draw, but it is none the less, taken as a whole, completely true. If, some day these lands are colonised by Europeans the South Island will only be a branch of the North, unless some valuable mines concealed in its ranges and already talked of by the natives give the island an importance later on, which it is at present impossible to foresee.”

CHAPTER XXI.

THE ELIZABETH HENRIETTA, 1823 TO 1825.

The Elizabeth Henrietta was one of the Sydney Government vessels used for visiting the various outlying settlements and carrying supplies backwards and forwards. Her keel was laid in H.M. dockyard in Sydney by Governor Hunter in 1800. Subsequently Governor Bligh made alterations in her general construction, but after his term of office they were not proceeded with, and the vessel remained in an incomplete condition on the stocks. On 13th June, 1816,¹ she was finally launched, a vessel of 150 tons. She was then sent to the Hunter River for a cargo of coals, and there on 30th July, was upset at her moorings. Unfortunately loss of life accompanied the disaster. Mrs Ross, the wife of the skipper, and one of the crew, both being below at the time of the accident, were drowned. With assistance sent from Sydney, the vessel was raised and brought back, none the worse for the mishap.

She was then employed in coastal voyages, carrying men and provisions for the Government to Hobart. The bad luck of her start however, followed her to Van Diemen's Land. One trip she took on April 1817, nearly proved her last. Hobart files report that she experienced some very severe weather when coming along the coast, and at one place was actually driven ashore, but happily was got off, with the greatest exertion.

Edwardson's work in bringing samples of flax to Sydney by the Snapper in March 1823, did much to awaken interest in the development of that trade, and for the purpose of obtaining a cargo of phormium the Elizabeth Henrietta under the command of Captain Kent sailed for New Zealand on 5th November, 1823.

As it has been stated that the object of the trip of the Elizabeth Henrietta was "to complete certain enquiries . . .

of a delicate character to the natives themselves" * the following letter at present in the Colonial Secretary's Office in Sydney sets out officially her mission.

Pitt St., Sydney,
20th January, 1826.

Sir,

Returning to you the enclosed letter and Memorial of Mr John Busby, I have the honor of acquainting you in reply to your enquiry of the 13th instant, that the object of the last voyage of the brig Elizabeth Henrietta to New Zealand, was to promote the civilization of the inhabitants of the island by supplying them with British Manufactures in exchange for their flax.

I have the honor to be

Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

F. GOULBOURN.

The Honourable Alexander McLeay,
Colonial Secretary.

On the night of 25th February, 1824, the brig was at anchor in Ruapuke Bay, Goulbourn Island, which Island is now known as Ruapuke, when a gale came on so violently as to part the chain cable and cause her to lose two of her anchors. Owing to this calamity, and notwithstanding the efforts of her crew, the vessel was driven on shore. Captain Kent remained with the wreck and sent the Chief Officer with the official report to Sydney, on board Mr Joseph Underwood's brig, the Wellington, just then returning from the sealing islands with a cargo of seal skins. The brig reached Sydney on 3rd April, 1824. The report, so far as it leaked out, was that with proper and timely aid the wrecked brig might be restored to the public service, but that otherwise she would have to be broken up.³

As soon as what had happened became known in Sydney, every effort was made to send relief, and by the 15th of the month H.M.S. Tees, under the command of Captain Coe, was fitted out for the voyage and sailed to her aid.

Captain Coe made Solander Island on the 28th April and on the 29th ran through Foveaux Strait into Port William where he cast anchor in the evening. The following day the pinnace and a cutter were sent over to Ruapuke under the command of the first lieutenant, with fifty men and everything necessary for floating the stranded vessel. From the 30th of April to the 4th of May was spent in the attempt to float her off and on the latter date the party returned to Port William. On the 9th May they returned to Ruapuke. On the 13th the first gig was sent under a lieutenant with provisions for 40 men but after battling about for two days returned, having failed to reach Ruapuke owing to the tremendous swell. On the 14th imagining they heard distress signals on Cockburn Island the master was sent thither in the second gig but the alarm turned out to be false. On the 16th the boats returned to Port William from the wreck, having given up all hope of floating the vessel. They brought with them fifteen persons belonging to the crew of the Elizabeth Henrietta, leaving only the master and two of the crew upon the island.* The Elizabeth Henrietta had been by the united efforts of all hands moved for a distance of five yards, and it was thought that success would crown their efforts. All was vain however; a gale set in on the shore and she was driven higher up on the beach. Then for the time being her fate was decided. Captain Kent and his party remained at the wreck and the others returned with Captain Coe to Sydney to obtain further instructions as to the steps to be taken. Kent appears not to have given up hope, but Captain Coe was satisfied that nothing more could be done, and the only thing that remained was to burn the hull and save the ironwork. The Tees reached Sydney on 3rd June, 1824, after an absence of about seven weeks.†

The official report of the Captain of H.M.S. Tees was as follows:—

H.M.S. Tees at Sydney
Cove 5th June, 1824.

Sir,

I am sorry to inform Your Excellency that H.M.S. Tees has returned to this anchorage with-

out having the good fortune to bring the Elizabeth Henrietta with her. On my arrival at Port William, every assistance that could be given was sent from this ship, and on our first trial we had the pleasure of moving her about five feet but it not being spring tides we stood fast, the officer which was with the ship having represented to me that if the Tees could remain until the springs he had no hesitation in saying she might easily be got off. I therefore determined to wait for that period but unfortunately a gale of wind came on about the 10th May which drove the brig 15 feet higher up, than when we began. We did not then despair and made every preparation for the approaching springs, but the whole of our strength could not move her and I was under the necessity of leaving her, having carried away every purchase I had. I have thought it prudent at the suggestion of Mr Kent her commander, to leave him and two men to take care of his stores and cargo (which is quite complete) until you have an opportunity of sending a vessel down to take them away to Sydney.

I must beg leave to recommend to Your Excellency's notice Mr Kent her commander who, I think, is a young man deserving your patronage although this unfortunate accident has taken place which he assures me was in consequence of the brig not being supplied with sufficient ground tackle.

I also beg leave to enclose a list of men belonging to the Wellington, brig, who after they heard of the accident, immediately repaired to their assistance and never left them which appears to me the only reason the natives were kept from the Henrietta's crew, and should the colonial service allow it, they deserve some remuneration as an encouragement to other seamen to assist those in distress.

I have the honor to be

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

THOMAS COE.

For a second attempt the Government secured the services of Mr John Busby civil engineer. Mr Busby, a Scotchman, was by profession a Mineral Surveyor and Civil Engineer and had been appointed to the service of the New South Wales Colony, while in Edinburgh, on 29th March, 1823. His engagement was for three years at £200 per annum, 200 days service to be given in each year. He had had some experience in England in connection with shipwrecked vessels, having floated the smack, Earl of Dalkeith, wrecked on the coast of Northumberland in 1808.⁶ He seems to have felt confident that the vessel could be saved, and as a result on 29th June, 1824, H.M. colonial vessel, the Mermaid, Captain Hall, sailed for New Zealand *via* Hobart Town. On 18th July the Mermaid sailed from Hobart Town for Ruapuke and Hobart files state that a passenger who came from Sydney with her reported that Mr Busby had proceeded to New Zealand with very powerful machinery and was most hopeful of success.⁷

On reaching Ruapuke, Busby set to work to float the wrecked brig by means of casks and when on 14th January, 1825, Captain Beveridge of the ship St. Michael reached Sydney from New Zealand he reported that Busby was hard at work. The Sydney Gazette stated:—"It is not improbable that we shall again have the pleasure of seeing one of our old navy returning to port after a long and critical cruise."

The Sydney Gazette of 3rd March, 1825, thus reports the successful result of Busby's mission. "We are glad to announce the return of Mr Busby, the civil engineer. This gentleman went in the Mermaid cutter, some few months since, to the relief of the Government colonial brig Elizabeth Henrietta, which valuable vessel was ashore on one of the islands in Foveaux Straits, called by Mr Kent, Goulbourn Island. H.M.S. Tees had visited the brig, and after several ineffectual attempts the vessel was abandoned. Mr Busby, however, was not to be intimidated from an attempt to save the Elizabeth Henrietta, with which view he offered his services to the Colonial Government. Mr Kent, the former commander, expressed it, as his conviction, that any

attempt would be fruitless. With the aid of only six men, however, in the space of 26 days Mr Busby completed his herculean task. The vessel was quickly rigged, and accompanied the *Mermaid* to the Bay of Islands, 800 miles distant, where Mr Busby left her. The crew were out of provisions, and had been living for some time on almost nothing, in which privations Mr Busby participated. The *Elizabeth Henrietta* may be daily expected. We should hope the Government will not fail most liberally to reward Mr Busby for all his toil and ability."

Busby returned to Sydney in the brig *Calder* under Captain Dillon.

On 12th March the *Mermaid* returned to port under the the command of Captain J. R. Kent, and on the following day the *Elizabeth Henrietta* ranged up alongside of her.*

Mr Busby's own account of his work is to be found in his application for remuneration dated 20th July, 1825, now in the Colonial Secretary's office at Sydney.

"By saving the vessel I saved also a cargo of New Zealand flax as both vessels returned with cargoes. To look on the other hand at the expense by which all this was accomplished. Captain Coe recommended that I should not take less than 50 men as that number would be required. I was aware that if my means were applicable a much smaller number would suffice. In addition to the *Mermaid's* crew of 16, I required only a carpenter and a blacksmith. On the arrival of the *Mermaid* where the *Elizabeth Henrietta* lay, I determined on not even detaining her. I took 6 individuals, and said to Mr Kent you are at liberty to go and collect your cargo of flax, these men will serve my purpose. We were left with 10 weeks provisions. In 26 days we got the vessel afloat. The *Mermaid* did not return till upwards of 14 weeks had elapsed, and we were reduced to lengthen out our scanty provisions with the addition of shell fish, and fern root. The cordage and stores expended could not exceed £10 in value.

"I now solicited Mr Kent to despatch the *Elizabeth Henrietta* with her cargo, and follow himself when the cutter should have obtained hers. He was however anxious

to bring both vessels home with him, and we were detained by adverse winds upon the coast, at one time out of sight of land with only one days provisions on board, till eight months after I had left my family, who never during all that time heard of me and who were now in extreme distress."

On 13th February, 1826, the Board of General Purposes recommended that Mr Busby receive a gratuity of £300.

On 19th March, 1825, only a few days after his arrival, Captain Kent met Messrs Tyerman and Bennett the deputies from the London Missionary Society, at Sydney, and these gentleman report that he had brought with him 25 tons of flax for the Government. In his description to them of New Zealand, he spoke of Foveaux Strait as Tees Strait, after a vessel which he says first found a passage through. The inhabitants in the vicinity he describes as exceedingly fierce and cruel, yet he lived among them upwards of a year. During that time however, a boat's crew was surprised, captured, killed and eaten for some pretended wrong.^o

The allegation, that the Tees was the first vessel to find a passage through, was entirely wrong, unless it was meant that she was the first man-of-war, in which case it is merely subject to doubt. The name Goulbourn given to Ruapuke also indicates a desire to place his own names on the various places to the exclusion of those they had long borne. The mention of the boat's crew, does not clearly indicate the General Gates massacre, as that took place in 1823 and before the Elizabeth Henrietta sailed for New Zealand. The discovery however, of that massacre by the Samuel may have taken place while Kent was at Ruapuke as did also the subsequent punishment of the Ruapuke Natives by Captain Riggs.

Having escaped the perils of the land on three distinct occasions the brig Elizabeth Henrietta was however, still doomed to come to grief on shore. Her end came in December 1825. On a return voyage from Port Macquarie, she called at Newcastle on 17th December, and while under a pilot struck the end of Nobby Island as she was working out. When steps were being taken to get her clear, the wind shifted, the cabin deadlights were stove in, and she was fast. The vessels in harbour went to her assistance, and all the

in connection with the scheme, the Baron was preparing with elaborate care prior to placing it before the people of England. However he left that employment, if he ever was engaged in it, and set to work to forward a scheme for a trading settlement on Stewart Island. C. de Thierry had been engaged, during the previous year, in trying to obtain concessions from the English Government for his colonization scheme but was put off by the authorities with the reply that New Zealand was not a British Possession. In these days when colonial possessions are sought at the expense of blood and money, the idea that the ownership of a great country like this was actually repudiated by the Imperial authorities, within the lifetime of people now living, is so novel that reproduction of the official reply is a matter of interest.¹

Downing Street,
10th Dec. 1823.

The Baron

Charles de Thierry.

Sir,

I am directed by Earl Bathurst to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 2nd inst., and to acquaint you in reply that as the questions which you have proposed to his Lordship respecting the Island of New Zealand are founded upon the assumption that that island is considered as a Possession of the Crown, it seems necessary to apprise you that you have been misinformed on the subject.

I am,

R. WILMOT HORTON.

De Thierry was not satisfied with this reply and fearful that Captain Stewart might succeed in obtaining some Government sanction and thereby prejudice his own scheme he wrote the following letter to Earl Bathurst.

30 Budge Row,
21st April 1824.

My Lord.

After the nature of the answers to the letters which I have had the honour at various times to address to your Lordship, I would not again intrude

upon your time respecting the Islands of New Zealand, if it were not that I claim an act of justice from His Majesty's Government, to obtain which, I cannot better address myself than to Your Lordship whose impartiality and Justice are so well known.

The Act of Justice which I plead for is, that should any privileges be granted to any individual in New Zealand, that H.M. Government will bear in mind that I was the first to seek this assistance, and the first to set on foot the colonization of New Zealand; I should not therefore be the last to be listened to with a favourable ear.

A Captain Stewart, of the whale trade, is to wait upon Your Lordship, to request that Government will grant him the Island which bears his name, on the Southern extremity of New Zealand. I will not enter into any length on the hostile tendency of the step towards myself, and will confine myself to two facts, the one, that he Deserted from H.M. Royal Navy, and only dared return to England on the general pardon some years back; and the other, that he has Deserted me, who had employed him not knowing his former offence.

I write not to you, My Lord, as an informer, but simply that Your Lordship may be enabled to draw a line between an aspirant who Deserted the service of the King, and a claimant who has served him faithfully, and will ever be at his disposal.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

C. DE THIERRY.

P.S.—After deserting H.M. service Mr Stewart was prize master on board a privateer.

If bitterness, in a letter, could have settled poor Stewart and his attempt to form a trading colony at Stewart Island, nothing more would have been heard of that proposal. If there is one virtue in officialdom, it is the impenetrable calm with which violent expressions are received in correspondence. No doubt the incident ended with the receipt of the letter. At any rate Stewart managed to float his venture, in the

December, 1825, having on board only 450 seal skins and as passenger Mr John Lee.* From what transpired subsequently the presumption is, that Stewart on this voyage visited Stewart Island and decided to establish a timber and ship-building yard at Port Pegasus, the harbour he had surveyed in 1809. The object of the Syndicate was to collect flax and timber and this would naturally occupy Stewart's attention first.

Judged by the cargo Stewart's first trip, with the Prince of Denmark, was a complete failure. A cargo of 450 seal skins would hardly pay the crews' wages. Of course plans may have been put in train for subsequent trade.

On 20th January, 1826, Stewart sailed on his second voyage with the Prince of Denmark. He made for the Bay of Islands and there met an English shipbuilder named George Cook, who had married a native woman, and who was residing at the Bay. He induced Cook to come with him in the Prince of Denmark and to bring with him a number of Europeans, who were at that time about the Bay. All the names—seven in number—are not available but the following accompanied Cook:—Robert Day, sawyer, Benjamin Turner, sawyer, Hugh McCurdy, shipwright, and John Leigh, shipwright. Stewart seems to have been a man of great ideas and hopeful of big things, and it is said that urging his scheme to Cook, who showed some disinclination to go, he said, "Come on Cook and I'll make a gentleman of you." Whether it was the prospect of being made a "gentleman" of or not, Cook and his party went. From his photograph Cook appears to have been a fine type of man, just the sort of fellow who would be fit for anything that came along, from managing a whaling station to governing a colony. Cook had one son born at the Bay of Islands. He was the father of the Cook family, who to this day own, near Cape Brett, the most remarkable whaling station in the world.

Stewart took the party to Port Pegasus and there commenced a timber and shipbuilding yard. It is pretty certain that it was at Shipbuilders Cove. While stationed there, Cook's second son Harry was born in 1827. Harry Cook is still alive and residing at the Bay of Islands. The skill of his

old father in boat building still lives in the hand of his son, who at nigh fourscore years of age can build a boat or pull an oar to the envy of the second generation.⁶

Giving Stewart two months to get his shipbuilders to Pegasus would bring the date to about 1st April, 1826, and operations had not long been commenced when the Bay had the honor of a visit from the emigrant fleet of the New Zealand Company which was being floated in London, when Stewart was there, with his own little venture.

The Company, having commenced operations, despatched two vessels to New Zealand, at an expense exceeding £20,000. It obtained the promise of a charter from the Government of King George the Fourth, and acquired tracts of land, among other places at Herd's Point on the Hokianga, at Manakau, on the islands of Waikēki and Paroa, and on the borders of the Thames.⁷ The first batch of their immigrants to New Zealand arrived in 1826 in the ship Rosanna and the cutter Lambton, the former under Captain Herd and the latter under Captain Barnett. Herd had command of the expedition. That gentleman took them into Port Pegasus on their road to the Thames, their intended destination in the North.

The New Zealand Company's expedition is thus described by Captain Lovett, of the Van Diemen's Land sealer Sally, which called in at the port before Herd left:—

“His ship had on board a full cargo of emigrants, proceeding in the same vessel to form a new English settlement on the banks of the river Thames at New Zealand. Captain Herd merely touched at Stewarts Island for the purpose of getting his fire-arms and ship's guns ready for their protection, in case of an attack from the New Zealanders on their arrival at their destination. His vessel had also on board many sheep and cattle and other live stock. Captain Herd intends to take in a return cargo of New Zealand flax.”⁸

Lovett also added that both vessels were provided with arms and intended to cruise for the protection of the colonists and to fish, for a period of three years.⁹

Herd spent much time in ascertaining the correct position of the various spots in and around Pegasus and found that as given by Stewart in 1809 they were not to be relied

upon. Surprised at some of the inaccuracies he called the attention of Stewart, who was there at the time, to the discrepancies, and learned that all Stewart's work had been done with a quadrant and a boat compass and with no artificial horizon. The wonder was that the chart was so accurate as it turned out to be.¹⁰ Herd's positions were generally accepted as authoritative by the mercantile marine of the world.

Describing Southern Port, Herd says:—"This harbour or sound would contain the whole Navy of Great Britain secure from all winds; at present it affords a Station for the New South Wales seal fishers, who are not very successful. A ship bound from India to Peru, or Chili, may, in case of carrying away a topmast or yard, supply herself here or recruit her water; which, by the way is not very good. When we were here it had a reddish tinge, and imparted that color to every thing it touched, and was also very astringent, which we thought was caused by the decayed vegetables it ran through. This is the most rainy and boisterous part of the world I was ever in."

On his road to Pegasus he passed the Snares and took particular note of their position and general appearance.

Sailing from Stewart Island, Herd skirted along the eastern coast of the Middle Island, calling in at Otago and giving accurate sailing directions. Arrived at his destination the conditions were such as to deter him from going on with the settlement and the expedition sailed on to Sydney, where it arrived on 11th February, 1827.

Captain Lovett was the first to bring to Hobart Town the news of Stewart's settlement:—"Captain Stewart of the ship Prince of Denmark had also arrived from England and had commenced his settlement on his own or Stewart's Island, which since the discoveries of Captain Cook was supposed to form the southern extremity of Tavai poenamboo, or the southern island; but which Captain Stewart first discovered to be an extensive island separated from the main by a strait of 20 miles."¹¹ Here we have set up the claim of Stewart to be the actual discoverer of the Island, for the first time apparently, at a date 17 years after the event. The editor

of the *Oriental Navigator* when publishing Stewart's surveys in 1816 did not mention such an interesting piece of history. Herd who spoke to Stewart himself, when at *Pegasus* at this time, says nothing of the claim. It remains for Lovett of the small Hobart Town sealer to declare that fact to the world. The present author therefore concludes that it is one of Stewart's contentions, when the Syndicate was being formed, which found its way into the prospectus but was ineligible for a place in the Warden's report.

Stewart in the *Prince of Denmark* returned to Sydney on 8th September, 1826, with 460 seal skins and a ton and a half of flax. She had sailed from New Zealand on 21st August. Probably on that date she left *Pegasus*. Another voyage a failure. So far the prospects of success for Stewart's Syndicate were not bright.

The third—and the last—voyage was commenced on the 3rd November, 1826.

Away down on the lonely isles of the Antipodes, on an almost precipitous ledge of rock and tussock is a solitary grave. Over it, until recently taken away by some vandal, was an old totara board with a very faded inscription. So far as it could be deciphered in the year 1888, it was made out by a party, who then examined it, to read as follows: ¹²

To the M—— Foster, chief officer of the scho
Prince of Denmark, who was unfortunately drowned
 ——ke the Boat Arbour——

14th day of December 1825.

The date cannot have been deciphered correctly because the *Prince of Denmark* was within four days sail of Sydney on 14th December, 1825. It could be 1826, because she sailed from Sydney on 3rd November of that year. The month or the year is wrong. This little fragment, picked up in that out of the way spot, shows us what desperate attempts Stewart was making to bring in a profit to his Syndicate. Perhaps, nay probably, the mysterious speculative trip of 1825 was a sealing trip away down to southern islands and to the Antipodes in particular. This was 1825 and we remember that in 1805 when in the employ of the firm of Campbell and Co.

it was William Stewart as master of the *Venus* who opened the trade.

Stewart's scheme was doomed. The third trip of the *Prince of Denmark* did not redeem the financial failure of the first two and the inevitable had to take place. What the exact position was is not clear but it was such as to bring into existence the following advertisement:—

Vice Admiralty Court, New South Wales, September 4, 1827: On Monday next, the 10th inst., at the Kings Wharf, at 10 o'clock, will be exposed for public sale, for the benefit of the claimants, the schooner *Prince of Denmark*, with her tackle, apparel, and furniture, as she now lies in Sydney Cove, burthen 127 tons. An inventory of the stores may be seen on board, at Messrs Raine and Ramsay's, or the Sheriff's office. By order of the said Court." 12

After the sale, the schooner appears running between Sydney and Hobart town, under the command of Captain Thomas Wright.

Coming back to the party left at *Pegasus* under George Cook. Operations in the shipbuilding line were commenced immediately the party reached the Bay, but for some reason, unaccountable to them at the time, Stewart failed to keep them going with supplies. The work they commenced for Stewart was not completed and subsequently, when they found themselves left to their fate, they engaged themselves to the proprietor of the whaling station at Preservation, established in 1829, and later on, to the Otago station. The Wellers who owned the Otago whaling station commissioned Cook and his party to build a vessel for them. This they did and gave to it the name, *Joseph Weller*. This craft which occupied three years in building, reached Sydney on 31st December, 1833, a schooner of 60 tons, under the command of Captain John Morris and laden with a cargo of oil and flax.

Cook and his party of shipbuilders went to Sydney, on board of the schooner, and landing there, one of the first men met on the street was Stewart. The old captain of the *Prince of Denmark* came forward eagerly to shake hands but Cook

indignantly declined, asking why he had been left down at Pegasus with seven men to starve for want of supplies. Stewart's reply was that he had been put into jail in Sydney for debt and could not get back, not having long escaped from durance vile. This reply rather mollified the indignant ship-builder and peace was once more restored; shortly afterwards. George Cook returned, with some of his men, to the Bay of Islands, where Mr Harry Cook then a mere lad, has resided ever since.*

The Joseph Weller was thus the first recorded vessel built at Stewart Island. While the author was examining the old Custom's records in Sydney, he stumbled over a portion of the correspondence which took place in the matter of an application for a register for the vessel, although she had not been built in New South Wales. The correspondence¹⁴ opens with a letter to Mr George Weller.

Sydney,
19th November, 1833.

George Weller, Esq.

We beg to acknowledge receipt of your letter addressed to the Controller stating that your brother had launched a schooner at New Zealand, and requesting that a sailing letter may be granted to her to trade between the islands in the South Seas and New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land, requesting also to be informed whether the produce of New Zealand when brought in the schooner to New South Wales will be treated as foreign. In reply, we have to acquaint you that vessels built at New Zealand can bring the produce of that island only to New South Wales or Van Diemen's Land, and that hitherto no duty has been levied upon such produce in this colony. We are, however, invested by law with no authority to grant licenses to foreign built vessels, which precludes us in this instance complying with your request.

JAMES BROWN pc.
BURMAN LINGA COLLIN.

The difficulty was afterwards overcome by the receipt of orders from London to issue licenses to vessels built at New Zealand. A license was issued for the Joseph Weller and the Home authorities advised in the following terms :—

Sydney,
4th September, 1834.

No. 37.

Honourable Sirs,

In compliance with the directions contained in Your Honor's Order of the 20th December 1833, No. 36, we report that the undermentioned vessels built at New Zealand have been furnished with Licenses to trade as British Ships between that Island and the Australian Colonies since the receipt of that Order on the 12th June 1834.

S. GIBBS, COLL.

BURMAN LINGA COLLIN.

No. 1 Joseph Weller Schooner 49 $\frac{3}{4}$ tons Ralph Snowden Master belonging to George Weller Merchant Sydney, built in the year 1831.

The Joseph Weller traded backwards and forwards to the New Zealand whaling stations, and finally was wrecked at Newcastle on January 1837. Fortunately no lives were lost.¹⁵

During the first week of the year 1830 Pegasus Bay was visited by the captain of an American schooner the Antarctic. The vessel was one of a number of sealers which sailed out of New York about this time to try the sealing grounds to the south of the Australian Continent. Some of these vessels had obtained rich harvests as a result of their ventures, but on this occasion although both the Auckland Islands and the Snares were visited, from a sealer's point of view the results were anything but successful. Captain Morrell describes it as a "beautiful and spacious harbour the entrance to which is narrow and easy of access. This is called South Port; and at the time of our visit a gang of men from Sidney were here, employed in building a vessel."¹⁶ This is the only reference to Cook's shipbuilding operations which the author has been able to glean from American publications.

Stewart's colonization and trade scheme ended in disaster. His two rivals of 1825 did not do much better, both schemes resulting ultimately in failure and pecuniary loss.

REFERENCES.

CHAPTER XXII.

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. H.E. Manuscript. | 9. H.T.G., June 10, 1826. |
| 2. Aust.; also S.G., Mar. 3, 1825. | 10. Nautical Mag., Vol. I., p. 338. |
| 3. H.E. in Manuscript. | 11. H.T.G., June 10, 1826. |
| 4. Aust.; also S.G., Mar. 26, 1825, | 12. Dougall's Far South, Invercargill (1838), p. 18. |
| 5. S.G., Dec. 19, 1825. | 13. S.G., Sept. 7, 1827. |
| 6. Personal narrative. | 14. N.S.W. Custom's Records. |
| 7. N.Z. Coy.: First Report of
Directors 14th May, 1840. | 15. Syd. Herald, Jan. 26, 1827. |
| 8. Colonial Times, Jan. 9, 1826. | 16. Morrell's Voyages, New York
(1832), p. 363. |

CHAPTER XXIII.

SEALING DURING THE TWENTIES.

The third decade of the nineteenth century saw the sealing trade reduced from one of such a magnitude that vessels could be fitted out for it and sail from Sydney seeking nothing else but a cargo of skins, to one which only supplied a portion of a cargo, the balance having to be made up with flax, spars, potatoes, whale oil and pork. If the author were compelled to lay down a text for this chapter, he could not suggest one which would convey a better idea of the change which took place in sealing during the twenties than that statement. The seals, though not actually exterminated, became vastly reduced in number. Had nothing else developed in the way of trade, the pinch of lessened profit would have ensured the rookeries being left unmolested and the natural increase would have replenished them; but the course of this narrative will show that the flax trade was first attempted by the Sydney merchants, then the timber was looked to as a supplementary agent and lastly shore whaling produced enough oil, to enable men to be continuously on the ground. These branches of trade producing a livelihood to the sealer, he was always there ready to kill everything that looked at him, although the produce of his slaughter could not possibly be said to reimburse him. The author holds the opinion, that if left alone and without legislation to protect it, no wild animal which becomes the property of its captor and which pays to catch, will survive extinction. Decimating slaughter is the natural instinct of man, and animal life continues not so much through difficulty of capture as through its unprofitable nature or the restraints which a civilized community has imposed upon it by legislation. As the narrative proceeds it will be seen to what extent the history of New Zealand sealing, like that of sealing in other parts of the world, supports this opinion.

The great bulk of the trade was a Sydney one. Outside of that, we have three distinct sources, but it is questionable whether all these put together equalled the Sydney portion. The three referred to were the Hobart Town, the American, and the English trade. Sydney has earned a reputation for the ephemeral nature of its records and those of private firms appear to have been as short lived as those of the State. Hobart Town did better, but at best the share of the sealing trade which went to that place was small. American and English sources have not yet, to any extent, been tapped. An accurate and continuous narrative is thus impossible, but such scraps, as we have, may be pieced together and so give a general idea of the movements of the trade during the period under review.

The decade opened with hot competition in seal skins from a newly discovered field in another part of the world. Captain William Smith, commander of the brig William, on a passage from Monte Video to Valparaiso in 1819, discovered the South Shetland Islands away to the south of Cape Horn and reported seals to be there in abundance.¹ Immediately the news became the property of the sealing world, a rush took place to the islands and so great was the destruction wrought by vessels from different parts, that during the years 1821 and 1822 it is computed that 320,000 skins and 940 tons of sea elephant oil, came from this little group of islands.

The activity mentioned in connection with the South Shetlands was accompanied by a corresponding lull in the New Zealand sealing. On 27th January, 1820, the Elizabeth and Mary, a regular trader to Macquarie Island, is reported as having arrived from New Zealand with a cargo of skins.² No information is given of the quantity and it may be presumed, that she simply filled up her time with the New Zealand trade, the bulk of her work being at the Macquaries.

The feature of the sealing trade of 1821 was the arrival in Sydney of the Governor Bligh under the command of Captain Dawson on 17th February, with a cargo of no less than 12,000 skins. The enterprising firm, to whom this fine cargo came, was Messers Jones, Riley and Walker.³ It is not

to be supposed that this rich consignment came from the mainland of New Zealand, nor even largely from the southern portion of the Colony. From subsequent events, it is fairly certain, that pretty well all the southern islands were drawn upon, as well as substantial supplies from the mainland. The only islands, which were distinguished by special reference in the columns of the Sydney press, were the Campbell and the Macquarie Islands. The happening of special events, alone enables the others to be identified.

From that time on and for a considerable period the sealing trade appears to have been actually dead, nothing but sea elephant oil being imported into Sydney. With an idea of reviving New Zealand trade and, if possible, finding something to take the place of the lost sealing, the New South Wales Government despatched the Government cutter Snapper, under Captain Edwardson to report upon the prospects of trade. On 7th November, 1822, he sailed.* No sooner had the Government cutter departed, than Captain Grono returned from his shore occupation to the sea and in command of a new brig called the Elizabeth on 11th November sailed on a sealing voyage calculated to take up twenty months.^b As results showed she had better luck in some directions than her captain anticipated but was most unfortunate in others. This was the trip in which Grono picked up the gang of the General Gates and brought them on to Sydney. He reached port on 21st January, 1823, with 1500 skins, but evidently his voyage had been cut short before he was ready to return, owing to his unfortunate mistake. He returned to the prosecution of his voyage on the 13th of the following month.

Trade prospects underwent a mild revolution in 1823. The Snapper returned from her trip to New Zealand with very favourable reports on the flax trade, which were followed up by the despatch of the Elizabeth Henrietta for a cargo of that commodity. Perhaps however Edwardson did most of all for the regeneration of the sealing trade, in capturing the naturalized New Zealand Chief Caddell, who with his adopted tribe had harassed the sealing gangs along the coasts of Foveaux

Strait without let or hindrance, adding a cannibal feed to the terrors the sealers had to face in the ordinary prosecution of their calling. Caddell spent some time in Sydney and doubtless advantage was taken of his presence there, to come to some understanding with the sealers. Whether that reasonably probable course was followed or not, cannot with the information at our disposal be asserted as a fact, but it is significant that activity in sealing followed. The Wellington was put in the trade. The Perseverance, which had for some time acted as a hulk, was taken up, refitted, and sent off sealing. Other craft fitted out for sealing were, the Samuel (Drysdale), the Minerva (Fisher), the Haweis (Jameson), and the Glory (Brown).

More directly bearing upon the giving out of the South Shetland sealing was the fitting out of American vessels to range over the whole Southern Ocean in search of the fur skins. This year (1823) Messrs Byers, Rogers, McIntyre and Nixon of New York fitted out a schooner called the Henry under the command of Captain Robert Johnson, to visit, amongst other places, the islands off New Zealand. From the Auckland and adjoining islands she took no less than 13,000 skins, described by an American critic as being "as good fur-seal skins as ever were brought to the New York Market." In the year 1824 Johnson was fitted out for a second voyage. His first essay in these waters had proved so profitable, that he revisited the south of New Zealand. In 1825 he was seen at the South Cape, having lost three men by drowning at the Chatham Islands. Johnson and his crew were in good health and had 1700 prime seal skins on board. From there she sailed to the south and east, in search of new lands between the 60th and 65th parallel of south latitude. She was never heard of more.⁶

When the vessels, which had been despatched towards the end of the year 1823, began to return to Sydney, their cargoes were found to be such as to give new life to the seal merchants and to those engaged in the shipping trade. Speaking of the prospects, when some of the first of the fleet arrived, the Sydney press said "The seal fishery by the late arrivals seems to promise ample success to our Colonial specu-

latists." The Wellington, another sealer, had been in the vicinity of Foveaux Strait when the Elizabeth Henrietta went ashore and rendered such valuable assistance to the wrecked vessel, that the commander of H.M.S. Tees recommended the captain and crew for substantial reward. Up to the end of May the following were the principal cargoes recorded as having arrived :

Date	Vessel	Master	Remarks
25th Mch.	Minerva	Fisher	Excellent cargo
30th "	Elizabeth	Grono	Successful trip
2nd Ap.	Samuel	Dawson	Valuable cargo
3rd "	Wellington		Exct. preservation
4th May	Haweis	Jameson	2000 skins also oil
24th "	Glory	Brown	1333 fur, 151 hair skins

We are indebted to a writer in the Sydney Gazette of 8th July, 1824, calling himself Scaevola for a list of Sydney owned vessels sailing out of that port to the seal fishery. The list is as follows :

Name	Owner
Wellington, Elizabeth and Perseverance	Mr Joseph Underwood
Belinda	Berry and Wollstencraft
Elizabeth	Levy and Grono
Samuel	Mr Jones, London
Sally	Mr Thomas Street
Sally	Mr Hervell
Glory	Mr Griffiths

A vessel the property of Captain Watson of the Aguilar.

The same writer also added :—"And we may reasonably anticipate that the above ten vessels, with any tolerable success, will bring to this port 40,000 to 50,000 skins which will of course be sent to the English Market."

This optimistic estimate appears to have roused the ire of one at any rate, of the sealing traders and Mr Levey penned the following in reply :—

To the Editor of the Sydney Gazette.

Sir,

You will perform a public duty, by inserting this unvarnished truth, in answer to a letter that

has a tendency to hoax those enterprising speculators, who are so ably recommended by Scaevola to the Government patronage and Public esteem. I beg leave to reply to such part of the letter as concerns myself.

I am sir, your most obedient servant,

S. LEVEY.

Friends of England! Beware of a letter in the Sydney Gazette of July 1, 1824, signed Scaevola the following being a true account.

It is publicly known, on the discovery of New Shetland, that a great annual supply of seal skins was expected from that very extensive island; and, in consequence of the superior fur or skins from that place, with the great quantities brought to the London market, all other resorts for seals were abandoned for about three years, when Mr Grono left this port for the purpose of getting seal skins on the coast of New Zealand, or such other place as they were likely to resort. Since that time it is nearly two years, and Grono has brought three returns to this port, making in the whole 12,000 fur skins, but this may chiefly be owing to his accurate knowledge of the seal resorts, having been twenty years on that trade on the same coast. The next brig that left the place was the Wellington, Mr Joseph Underwood owner, with other vessels, all of which have not brought to the port 40,000 fur seal skins, in the period of two years; and all those acquainted with sealing, can safely pronounce, that there will not be so many procured in the next two years, even allowing they had time to increase; whereas of late they have been harassed and driven from the ground; therefore how can Scaevola assert to the public, that next year we may reasonably anticipate (says this ingenious writer) 40,000 or 50,000 skins will be brought to Sydney. Surely this is attempting to undervalue the skins, or he could never attempt to infringe on common sense, by as-

serting so confidently, that in one year we are to have more skins than were obtained in about two; when the reverse seems so probable. No doubt he wants to purchase seal skins; and for his information I do inform him, that a Sydney merchant gave me, for upwards of 5000 skins, fifteen shillings each; and it is to be hoped, that they will get dearer, as it is likely there will not be one skin caught this season to every three the former. . . .

I remain,

A SHOPKEEPER,

No. 72 George St., Sydney.

Anything in the nature of a trade correspondence by parties engaged in sealing at that early date is so rare, that many points of great value are to be obtained from these letters, and out of subsequent ones another extract is given to show to what extent the seals on the New Zealand coast had been treated in the manner suggested by the writer.

"I do assert of late the Southern and Western Coasts of New Zealand have been infested with Europeans and New Zealanders, who, without consideration, have killed the pups before they are prime, and the clap matches before pupping, for the sake of eating their carcasses; the consequence of which is, that the increase of seals will be totally extinct in about three years on the coast. This circumstance will illustrate what I am about to observe, when I state that the seals will not resort to the ground frequented by man. The rookeries they are found at, in the various latitudes, induce me to say, with confidence, that four vessels well fitted out, with proper knowledge of the coasts, would procure as many seal skins as ten vessels; the only difference that would arise, being that of the quantity which must be divided among the ten." *

There is no doubt from the above correspondence that the Sydney sealers were doing with the New Zealand seals what they had formerly done with the Bass Strait seals and which called for the warning from the French Commodore, Baudin, in 1802. What more destructive system of warfare could be devised than waging it against the young and the mothers in

young? This chapter will not end without showing how prophetic was the statement that three years would see the last of the trade.

At this stage a terrible catastrophe befell the *Samuel*, resulting in the loss of her commander Captain Dawson. Dawson was well known among the sealing captains of the second and third decades of last century. He regularly traded in the vicinity of Foveaux Strait and only as late as 2nd April had landed at Sydney, with a black woman saved from a *General Gates* gang. His next trip to New Zealand was his last. On 31st July, 1824, in Cook Strait, Captain Dawson and five of his men went ashore when they were rushed by the treacherous natives and killed.¹⁰

One of the English bound vessels, the *Midas*, which on 16th August sailed from Sydney took advantage of the sealing grounds in the vicinity and looked in at the Auckland Islands on 6th September, to fill up her cargo with skins. In 10 days she procured 1600 with the slight inconvenience of some heavy weather when off the islands. She then made for England, calling in at St. Helena.¹¹ No doubt she was but one of many to adopt this course, but only to the accidental circumstances of another trader reporting her movements are we indebted in this case for the information.

Another event of this year in the sealing world, was the report of a visit from an American vessel at the sealing grounds. Robert Campbell, junr's, schooner the *Newcastle*, reached Sydney on 10th October, with a cargo of 900 skins and brought the news that a Yankee clipper, called the *Thomas*, had appeared off the coast, and as she had very few men on board of her, it was feared she would carry off some of the sealing gangs.¹² This was a particular weakness of American vessels during the days of the Bass Strait sealing. Our narrative has already referred to the *Charles* of Boston, taking away a carpenter engaged by Stewart on the *George* but no cases had been recorded of that being done in the New Zealand sealing. In the case of one American vessel—the *General Gates*—that was a charge which could be levelled against a Sydney captain.

An analysis of the sealing trade with New Zealand for

the year 1825, taken from the columns of the Sydney press, gives us some nine cargoes landed by the regular craft. These do not include the specified trade with the Macquarie and Campbell Islands, and make in all 17,864 fur and hair skins or an average of 1985 per trip. To obtain an estimate of values is a matter of extreme difficulty. In April, English quotations dated 16th November, 1824 gave the price of South Sea seal skins as ranging from ten to twenty-one shillings. The probabilities are, that these figures deal with fur skins only and do not cover the hair seals, which formed a large proportion of the total catch.

On the arrival of the Wellington in March her cargo of 500 fur and 2000 hair skins were spoken of as a "great success" and we may conclude that that voyage was a profitable one. In July the advices to hand per the Samuel were not of the most flattering kind, and it was apprehended that 1825 would be so scarce a year for seals, that each skin would cost on the average, from ten to twelve and even fourteen shillings.¹³ At anything like that cost, in the first instance, the London prices would indicate a substantial loss on all small cargoes.

The Alligator and the Wellington, sealing craft also, were both on the grounds when the Samuel was there, and had trouble of a most unfortunate kind with their own men and with the natives. The carpenter of the Wellington stole the only boat they had left, as the others were all stationed at the various depots, taking with him three coloured men, who belonged to the crew, and all the tools, nails and other instruments he could lay his hands on. Through this piece of villainy, the master of the Wellington was reduced to great straits and had to be assisted by the master of the Samuel. All attempts to retake the boat and the absconders had proved unavailing. The natives were reported generally to be very troublesome and had captured a six-oared boat belonging to the Alligator, the crew narrowly escaping with their lives.

Sydney had a visit about this time of one of the American vessels engaged in the trade. The schooner Yankee, Captain Thayer, which left New York on 1st August, 1824, had been

sealing at the Auckland Islands, and having secured 2000 fur skins, put in to Sydney to refit and to obtain a supply of provisions. The fine lines of the American build were much admired by shipping men and she was recommended as a model to the colonial builders. As a sample of her sailing powers, she had come up from the Aucklands in twelve days.¹⁴ She stayed at Sydney from 7th to 19th August, 1825.

The description "sealing grounds" as the places where the seals were obtained, completely hides the localities where the trade was mostly carried on. We are however told of the *Elizabeth*, in March, that she left New Zealand from Dusky Bay.¹⁵ Its glory had departed from the time vessels could fill up in its immediate locality, but there was still enough to be got to make it worth a call. The only other place mentioned is Auckland Island, and the author's opinion is that about this time and perhaps earlier, the maximum amount of attention was directed to its sealing rookeries. The brig *Queen Charlotte* under the command of R. Jameson reached Sydney on 17th March with 2200 skins and 2 tons oil. She had come from Bristow's Island—another name for the Auckland Group—having sailed from that place on 27th February.¹⁶ The American schooner had been there and saw the *Wellington (Day)*, and the *Elizabeth* and *Mary (Worth)*, both pursuing their occupation. The Auckland Islands were also the scene of a melancholy boating disaster late in the year. The *Sally*, a Hobart Town craft owned by Captain Wilson and commanded by Captain Lovett, with a crew of 17 men sailed from Hobart Town on 13th October and reached the Aucklands on 3rd November. Three days afterwards "by an untoward circumstance, two boats were lost and six seamen drowned, namely: John Cole, Edward Stowers, John Simons, Robert Hardy, George Howell and Job Richardson." In sealing the *Sally* was not successful at the islands, spending three months to secure 200 skins.¹⁷ The *Samuel* also on her last trip for the year brought up 2000 skins from the Auckland Islands which she left on 5th December reaching Sydney in 17 days.¹⁸

Significant of coming events in the shape of a decaying

seal trade having to be supplemented by another product to make up a cargo, we find the regular sealing craft, the Alligator, after her boat had been stolen by the natives, bringing two tons of flax to Sydney in October, along with her cargo of 1400 seal skins.

About February 1826, the Sally came up from her unsuccessful sealing at the Aucklands, to Pegasus at Stewart Island, where she spent a period of about three weeks sealing. There she met, as we saw, the expedition sent out by the New Zealand Company under Captain Herd, also the members of Stewart's timber and shipbuilding settlement. From Stewart Island, Lovett made for the Antipodes and the Bounty Islands but without much success. Returning to New Zealand the Sally sailed through Cook Strait and down the West Coast to the South Cape, leaving New Zealand on 9th May and reaching Hobart Town at the beginning of June, with the paltry cargo of some 460 seal skins and 12 cwt. flax, for six months work and the loss of six men. While she was at New Zealand the Alligator (Fairley) had sailed for Easy Bay on the southwest coast of Stewart Island, sealing. This vessel returned to Sydney on 25th May with the large cargo of 4000 skins. The Samuel (Drysdale) arrived from the Auckland Islands. Her cargo when she made Sydney on 28th May was 3400 skins and 1 ton flax. The Samuel had taken her last cargo from the same place. The Elizabeth (Kent) was setting out for the Chatham Islands. Lovett, who is spoken of as an intelligent young man, on this trip found the natives very friendly and he brought with them two young New Zealanders who were put on board on his ship by their people, a musket to be given for their services on their return.¹⁵ Unfortunately the Sally was lost at Launceston on 30th June with the loss of 13 lives. The two New Zealand boys were, however, saved.

The year 1826 broke the back of the sealing trade. Up to the end of March 1827, seven vessels laden with skins are reported from the sealing grounds of New Zealand, bringing 19,040 skins or an average of 2720 per trip. These were the regular traders, the captains of which knew every rookery on the coast. Many like the Sally returned with very small cargoes. The Hobart press in July, speaking of the Sydney

sealers said, "The vessels from that port, which had gone on sealing expeditions to New Zealand, had met with little better success than the unfortunate vessel the Sally lately did. The seal appears to have wholly deserted these coasts. We reiterate our wish, that some effective steps were taken to protect and cherish this valuable article in our own straits and islands."¹⁹ Another Hobart Town authority says: "The total annihilation of the fur seal, though insignificant when put in the balance with the moral evil, is notwithstanding, very important in a commercial point of view to these Colonies. Some years ago it was no uncommon thing for a vessel to obtain in a short trip from 80,000 to 100,000 skins, which at that time, owing to ignorance of a proper method of curing them, were as commonly spoilt. We stated in our last, the great numbers formerly obtained at South Georgia, and the Island of Desolation, where these valuable animals are now nearly extinct; so here, and round New Zealand, scarce hundreds or even tens are to be obtained where as many thousands were once easily procured."²⁰ The last decent cargo was brought up by Captain Drysdale in the Samuel, 4500 skins. After this date the size of the cargoes are seldom stated but are indicated to consist of skins, flax, potatoes and spars. The words of Mr Levey of Sydney in 1824 were prophetic. Three years exactly had come and gone and the sealing as the sole trade of a small Sydney fleet was almost over.

Connected with the voyage of the Samuel when she obtained the last big cargo of seal skins is the loss of the Glory which had been engaged in the sealing trade for a considerable time.²¹ The Glory, commanded by Captain Swindells, was anchored at Pitts Island, one of the Chathams on 15th January, 1827. At eight o'clock she struck the ground. A stream anchor was carried out and efforts used to warp off the vessel but in vain. There was a heavy ground swell at the time. Warned by her striking again very heavily Captain Swindells ran her ashore on the beach, saving her sails and rigging, provisions, 800 skins, 6 or 8 tons of flax, and a quantity of pork in casks. No lives were lost. The long-boat was got on shore, pitched, painted and provided with washboards, masts, sails and a supply of

provisions and Captain Swindells with five others stepped on board and set sail for New Zealand, a distance of 800 miles. They made the Bay of Islands, although a heavy wind blew all the time, just as the Samuel was coming out of the harbour, and by her were taken on to Sydney. Captain Swindells, it appears, owned one-half the cargo and R. Campbell, junr., and Mr Emmett each one-fourth. The hull was insured for £1200. Captain Swindells's voyage from the Chathams to the Bay of Islands, in a ship's long-boat, must be regarded as one of the most adventurous of the early sealing period.

About this time Dusky was visited by a series of earthquakes. The Revd. Richard Taylor in his book, *New Zealand and its Inhabitants*, says²² :—"From the evidence of a person who was formerly engaged in sealing at Dusky Bay, as far back as the year 1823, it appears that from 1826 to 1827 there was an almost constant succession of earthquakes, some of which were sufficiently violent to throw men down. At times, he and his party, who then resided on a small island, were so alarmed lest it should be submerged, that they put out to sea; there, however, they found no safety, but such was the flux and reflux of the ocean, that they were in the greatest danger of being swamped, and were thankful to get on shore again. The sealers were accustomed to visit a small cove called the jail, which was a most suitable place for anchorage, being well sheltered with lofty cliffs on every side; and having deep water in it close to the shore, so that they could step out on the rocks from their boats. It was situated about eighty miles to the north of Dusky Bay. After the earthquakes the locality was completely altered; the sea had so entirely retired from the cove, that it was dry land. Beyond Cascade Point the whole coast presented a most shattered appearance, so much so that its former state could scarcely be recognised. Large masses of the mountains had fallen, and in many places the trees might be seen under the water."

About this date a peculiar settlement took place on Codfish Island off the south western coast of Stewart Island. The island is identical with Pegasus Island surveyed by Wm. Stewart in 1809. At first the sealing trade passed through the stage when men were simply placed at a station for a few

weeks or months to kill seals and then picked up again. Any inclination which the men might have manifested for taking up with the natives was largely kept in check by the well known treacherous character which the latter at times manifested. The Caddell incident indicated organized hunting of the sealing gangs in Foveaux Strait for plunder and slaughter, and the formation of gangs of Europeans stationed on the coast was an impossibility. However in spite of complaints of captains regarding the conduct of the natives we find men like the carpenters of the Wellington in 1826 ready to desert and join them. At this time it must have been possible to live among them and the author inclines to the belief that about this date was started the European settlement at Codfish Island. A number of white sailors took unto themselves wives from among the Maori maidens in the south and went to live at Codfish Island. The very nature of the settlement, under no head, working for no firm in any of the large centres of population and possessing no permanent trade of its own, prevented the possibility of handing down a record to the future. One statement about it has remained unchallenged amongst Southern natives and that is, that the first halfcaste child born on the island was the late Mr Thomas Brown of Riverton, who died there on 9th January, 1906, aged 79 years. The old man was very proud of his record as the first child of the settlement and was so accurate in his placing of events, that the author could locate from other sources, that there is no reason to consider that he could be more than one year out at most regarding his age, which is the only clue to the date of the settlement, though early writers have in a most off-hand way attributed a much greater age to the settlement.

To show how completely the seals had been cleared off the outlying islands by the end of the twenties, the experience of Captain Benjamin Morrell of the American schooner Antarctic will be quoted.* Morrell sailed from New York on 2nd September, 1829, and anchored at Carnleys Harbour on 23th December of that year. On the 31st he made preparations for examining the island for fur seals and sent two of his officers to cruise round in two boats. On 4th January, 1830,

they returned, having pulled round the island without seeing a single fur seal, and not more than twenty of the hair kind. Quoting his own words:—"Although the Auckland Isles once abounded with numerous herds of fur and hair-seal, the American and English seamen engaged in this business have made such clean work of it as scarcely to leave a breed; at all events there was not one fur-seal to be found on the 4th of January, 1830. We therefore got under way on the morning of Tuesday, the 5th at 6 o'clock, and steered for another cluster of islands, or rather rocks, called "*the Snares*," one hundred and eighty miles north of Aucklands Group and about sixty south of New Zealand. . . . We searched then in vain for fur-seal, with which they formerly abounded. The population was extinct, cut off, root and branch, by the sealers of Van Dieman's Land, Sidney etc." The great seal trade was over.

From the Snares Morrell visited Pegasus, called by him South Port and then spent a few days at the Molyneux. There he found a village situated at the head of the harbour and called by the natives, Tavaimoo, a village of twenty-eight miserable huts. The best of these dwelling places he describes as being like barns, about ten feet high, thirty long and twelve broad. The insides were strongly constructed and fastened with supple vines. The same material which they used for daubing their faces they also used for painting their whares red and black. The huts were entered through a hole just large enough to admit a man stooping; smoke escaped and light entered by a still smaller aperture. An inferior class of dwelling found in the village was about half the size of the above and seldom more than four or five feet in height. These were framed of young trees and thatched with long grass. A few bags or baskets containing fishing gear and other trifles constituted the only furniture.

The natives of the Molyneux in January 1830 were evidently of a very low standard of civilization and although they must have been in touch with Europeans for some time before the visit of Captain Morrell, the contact had evidently not elevated them. The American makes no mention of finding white men in the native camp. Several American

Museums had their ethnological collections supplemented to a very considerable extent by this voyage of the Antarctic.

It is a matter of interest that in this long weary journey he was accompanied by his wife, the first recorded case of a white woman visiting the Auckland Islands. The Snares and Stewart Island had on the other hand been visited in 1826 by a number of women among the immigrants belonging to the New Zealand Company.

REFERENCES.

CHAPTER XXIII.

- | | |
|---|--|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Weddel's Voyage (1827), p. 129. 2. S.G., Feb. 7, 1820. 3. S.G., Feb. 24, 1821. 4. S.G., Nov. 8, 1822. 5. S.G., Nov. 22, 1822. 6. Morrell's Voyages, New York (1832), p. 363. 7. S.G., Ap. 8, 1824. 8. S.G., July 15, 1824. 9. S.G., July 22, 1824. 10. S.G., Sep. 30, 1824. 11. Aust., Dec. 16, 1824. 12. Aust., Oct. 14, 1824. | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 13. S.G., July 21, 1825. 14. Aust. and S.G., Aug. 11, 1825. 15. S.G., Mar. 3, 1825. 16. Aust., Mar. 17, 1825. 17. H.T.G., Oct. 15, 1825; and June 10, 1826; also Aust., June 24, 1826. 18. Aust., Dec. 29, 1825. 19. H.T.G., July 29, 1826. 20. S.G., July 29, 1826. 21. Aust., March 20, 1829. 22. p. 235. 23. Morrell's Voyages, New York, 1832, p. 358. |
|---|--|

CHAPTER XXIV.

CAMPBELL AND MACQUARIE ISLANDS SHIPPING.

Research in various directions has placed at the author's disposal a large quantity of material which cannot very well be incorporated into the narrative, and yet matter, which if properly classified, is worth its space. Coming under this category a mass of statistical matter connected with the first visits made to Campbell and Macquarie Islands is here introduced. The trade of these two places was kept distinct from the New Zealand mainland trade better than was that of any of the other islands. With the features it had peculiar to itself, which no doubt accounted for that distinctness, the information, given in tabulated form, should possess special value.

To obtain what is set forth in this chapter the writer has drawn from the following Australian periodicals of the period between 1810 and 1830; the Sydney Gazette, the Australian, the Monitor, the Australian Magazine and Howe's Almanac, published in Sydney, and the Hobart Town Gazette and the Colonial Times, of Hobart Town. The Historical Records of New South Wales also give information of clearances, entries, &c., for the years 1810 and 1811.

The custom throughout the book of giving authorities for the various statements is not followed here, on account of the mass of references it would entail. Several points may however be noted. The dates of clearing from port, as given in the Historical Records of New South Wales, have been compared with the press references to the dates of sailing. Unless specially mentioned, the place which the vessel sailed from and returned to, is taken as the Port of Sydney. The dates are arranged, as near as can be, in the order of arrival at the islands.

Report of Vessels calling at the Campbell and Macquarie Islands from the date of their discovery in 1810 to the year 1830.

Sailed.	Vessel.	Tons.	Master.	Returned.	Remarks.
1810.	Perseverance	136	F. Hasselburgh	1810. 17 Aug.	The islands discovered and party left upon them to procure skins.
19 Sep.	Aurora	180	S. R. Chace	30 Dec.	Cargo 100 skins, 140 gallons elephant oil, 16 days from Campbell Island.
	Perseverance	136	F. Hasselburgh	1811. 8 Jan.	Hasselburgh and two others drowned at Campbell Island, 4th November.
	Elizabeth and Mary	75	Gordon	2 Mar.	Cargo of skins from Macquarie Island.
3 Oct.	Star	102	Jno. Wilkinson		Sailed from Macquarie Island for England with "tolerable cargo of skins."
20 "	Unity	160	Daniel Cooper		At Macquarie Island with Star, no further particulars.
	Sydney Cove	282	Chas. McLaren	12 Apl.	Had sailed from Foveaux St. to the islands. Belonged to Kable and Underwood.
1811. 9 Feb.	Aurora	180	O. F. Smith	19 May	From Macquarie Island with 60 tons elephant oil and 3000 hair skins.
8 Mar.	Concord	150	Thos. Garbut	1 May	Left gang on Macquarie Island.
12 Apl.	Mary and Sally	130	Chas. Feen	27 Nov.	Landed gangs at Campbell and Macquarie islands. Blown off. No cargo.

Report of Vessels calling at the Campbell and Macquarie Islands from the date of their discovery in 1810 to the year 1830.—Continued.

Sailed.	Vessel.	Tons.	Master.	Returned.	Remarks.
1811. 3 May	Governor Bligh	100	Jno. Grono		Cleared, but doubtful if she sailed.
1 Jne.	Concord	160	Thos. Garbut	1811. 4 Oct.	Blown off Macquarie Island 12th July with two boats' crews for 6 weeks.
	Perseverance	186	Miles Holding	31 Oct.	Cargo of 35,000 skins from Macquarie Island.
21 Sep.	Sydney Cove	282	Chas. McLaren		Blown off Macquarie Island 11th Mar. with 11,000 skins and 70 tons oil.
12 Nov.	Concord	160	Thos. Garbut		Boat upset, 6 men drowned, 24th Jan., 1812. Sailed for England from Macquarie Island, 10th March.
27 "	Cumberland	80	Wm. Stewart		Reported 5 men of the M. and S. sealing gang lost at Campbell Island.
20 "	Governor Bligh	100	Jno. Grono	1812. 7 Jne.	Blown off Macq. Id., with only 3 men, after beating about from 20th Dec. to 24th Feb.
1812. 23 Feb.	Perseverance	186	Miles Holding	7 May	Cargo, 9000 skins and 65 tons oil. Left Macquarie Island 7th April.
16 "	Mary and Sally	130	Chas. Feen	17 Sep.	Reported by the Perseverance to be at Macquarie Island, 30th March.
22 Mar.	Campbell Macquarie	248	Richd. Siddons		Wrecked at Macquarie Island, 10th June. First wreck there.
Aug.	Governor Bligh	100	Jno. Grono	15 Dec.	Cargo 14,000 seal skins and 3 tons oil, also the crew of the brig Active.

1812. 4 Sep.	Perserverance	136	Miles Holding	1812. 30 Oct.	Brought back the Campbell Macquarie shipwrecked crew.
7 Nov.	Elizabeth and Mary	75	Richd. Siddons	1813. 20 Jan.	Sailed for relief of distressed gangs, brought back stores, rigging, &c., from the wrecked vessel.
1813. 16 Sep.	Mary and Sally	130	James Kelly	1814. 10 Apl.	Cargo 80 tons elephant oil got in 3 months at Macquarie Island.
1814. 4 Sep.	Elizabeth and Mary	75		17 Dec.	Placed a gang on Macquarie Island.
6 Dec.	Cumberland	80	T. Cubitt		
6 "	Endeavour	58	John Powell	1815. 9 Mar.	From Macquarie Island.
28 "	Betsy		P. Goodenough		Abandoned at sea, 29th October, 1815.
1815. 14 Jan.	Elizabeth and Mary	75		2 Mar.	Cargo 3000 fur skins from Macq. Iald.
11 Apl.	Elizabeth and Mary	75	W. Rook	23 Jne.	Cargo 28 tons black whale oil and 4000 skins.
24 Jne.	Cumberland	80	T. Cubitt		
8 Aug.	Elizabeth and Mary	75	Theo. Walker	11 Nov.	Cargo 40 tons elephant oil.
1816. 26 Mar.	Elizabeth and Mary	75	Jas. Miller	1816. 28 May	Cargo of oil; brought up gang of the Betsy.
18 Jly.	Elizabeth and Mary	75	Jas. Miller	1817. 21 Jan.	Got damaged and returned to port 16th Sep. to refit, cargo oil.
1817. 14 Jly.	Elizabeth and Mary	75	J. Beveridge	1 Sep.	Cargo oil, gangs left all well.
Oct.	Elizabeth and Mary	75	J. Beveridge	26 Nov.	Cargo of oil.

Report of Vessels calling at the Campbell and Macquarie Islands from the date of their discovery
in 1810 to the year 1830,—*Continued.*

Sailed.	Vessel.	Tons.	Master.	Returned.	Remarks.
1817. 9 Nov.	Campbell Macquarie	100	Richd. Siddons	1818. 9 Feb.	Touched at the Derwent going out; cargo oil.
Dec.	Elizabeth and Mary	75	J. Beveridge	10 Feb.	Cargo elephant oil.
1818. 7 Mar.	Elizabeth and Mary	75	Jacob John	13 Jly.	Touched at the Derwent going out 9th May for wood and water; cargo oil.
6 Aug.	Elizabeth and Mary	75		21 Dec.	Whaling cruise to New Zealand and Macquarie Island.
1819. 25 Jan.	Elizabeth and Mary	75		1819. 2 May	Took down new gang to Macq. Isld., blown off in a gale, encountered bad weather, cargo 1200 skins, 17 tons oil.
12 Sep.	Campbell Macquarie	100	J. Beveridge	14 Dec.	Bad weather, blown off 7 times, lost two anchors and cables, cargo 12 tons oil.
8 Dec.	Elizabeth and Mary	75	J. Beveridge	1820. 27 Jan.	Cargo oil.
25 Dec.	L'Uranie		Freycinet		French Discovery Corvette, sighted Campbell Island, 7th Jan., 1820.
1820. 12 Mar.	Elizabeth and Mary	75	J. Beveridge	11 May	Heavy gales on returning, foreyard sprung, gangways lost, cargo oil. Vessel then taken off trade and almost wholly rebuilt

1820. 26 Aug.	Regalia		Dixon	1821. 1 Mar.	From and to Hobart Town. Cargo 260 tons oil. Reached London 14th Jan., 1822.
8 Sep.	Robert Quayle		Leslie		From Hobart and on to England on 18th November with 150 tons oil.
31 Oct.	Wostok		Bellinghausen		Russian Discovery ships called at Macquarie Island 17th November spending several days watering and obtaining specimens. Reported by Regalia at Hobart Town as calling at Macquarie Island for water. Sailed from Kronstadt 1819 for the Antarctic, returning in two years.
31 "	Mirnyj	530	M. Lazarew		Via Hobart Town to Macquarie Ia. Driven back by rough weather, sailed 18th Apl., called at Hobart returning.
1821. 5 Apl.	Midas	490	J. Beveridge	3 Aug.	From and to Hobart, only 25 days out.
15 May	Emerald		Elliott	11 Jne.	
6 Aug.	Elizabeth and Mary	75	Marshall	1822. Jan.	
4 Sep.	Surry	310	Thos. Raine	1821. 6 Dec.	To land gang with provisions, passenger Mr Wm. Bowmaker.
27 Sep.	Midas	480	J. Beveridge	1822. 23 Jan.	Cargo 300 tons oil.
7 Nov.	Emerald			31 Oct.	To Macquarie Island with provisions from Hobart.
1822. 14 Feb.	Lusitania	250	Langdon		From Hobart Town for Macquarie Id. and England.

Report of Vessels calling at the Campbell and Macquarie Islands from the date of their discovery in 1810 to the year 1830,—Continued.

Sailed.	Vessel.	Tons.	Master.	Returned	Remarks.
1822. 5 Mar.	Elizabeth and Mary	75		1822. 4 Sep.	Cargo oil. Joseph Underwood owner.
29 Aug.	Emerald		Wm. Elliott	31 Oct.	Called at Hobart going on 7th to 18th Sept., returned to Hobart 31st Oct. with a gang belonging to that port. Sailed for England 4th Dec. with 150 tons oil.
26 Sep.	Mariner		Douglass	10 Dec.	From Macquarie Island with 202 tons oil.
1823. 28 Feb.	Lynx		Richd. Siddons	1823. 18 Jly.	Blown off Macquarie Island for 7 weeks, losing cable and anchor. Made V.D.L. for wood and water. Cargo 15 tons oil.
	Elizabeth and Mary	75	Marshall	25 Mar.	On 11th Feb. called at Hobart Town with sickness on board. Cargo 51 tons oil.
13 Mar.	Regalia		Wm. Collins	30 May	On 10th May reached Hobart Town with 382 tons oil and a Sydney gang.
1 Apl.	Wellington		Dey	22 Sep.	For Macquarie Island, cargo oil and 4 to 5000 seal skins.
17 "	Caroline		D. Taylor	11 Jly.	To Hobart Town with oil.
26 "	Elizabeth and Mary	75	W. Worth	3 Oct.	For Macquarie Island.

1823. 16 Sep.	Perseverance	136	Craig	1823. 30 Oct.	Visited Macquarie Island. She had been refitted after serving as a hulk.
25 "	Caroline		D. Taylor	1824. 1 Jan.	From Hobart Town and reaching Sydney in January 1824 with a full cargo of oil.
29 Oct.	Elizabeth and Mary	75	W. Worth	17 Mar.	For Campbell and Macquarie Island, cargo 3500 skins and 10 tons oil.
22 Dec.	Midas	430	Jos. Thompson	7 Feb.	Quickest trip known. Out of port 38 days, returned in 15. Cargo of oil.
1824. 4 Mar.	Caroline		D. Taylor	22 Apl.	Cargo 90 tons oil, from Macquarie Id.
17 Nov.	Caroline		D. Taylor		Wrecked at Macquarie Island 17th March.
27 Dec.	Elizabeth and Mary	75	W. Worth	1825. 19 Apl.	Cargo 3470 fur, 1280 hair skins and 11 tons oil, from Campbell Island and New Zealand.
1825. 6 May.	Wellington		Dey	8 Sep.	Left Macquarie Island 1st Sept. Cargo 100 tons oil, 1800 seal skins and captain and part of crew of Caroline.
12 Jne.	Elizabeth and Mary	75	W. Worth	8 Dec.	Reported by the Yankee (Thayer) in Sydney 7th August, to be leaving Auckland Island for Campbell Id. when the Yankee sailed. Cargo 1810 fur and 380 hair seal skins.
18 Aug.	Cyprus	108	G. K. Todd	1 Oct.	From and to Hobart, lost anchor and chain cable at Macquarie Island, left there 17th Sept. Cargo 66 tons oil and part of Caroline's crew, Mr Thomas Underwood supercargo.

Report of Vessels calling at the Campbell and Macquarie Islands from the date of their discovery
in 1810 to the year 1830,—*Continued.*

Sailed.	Vessel.	Tons.	Master.	Returned.	Remarks.
1825. 25 Oct.	Wellington		Day	1825. 22 Dec.	Left Macquarie Island 15 days before. Cargo 65 tons oil.
26 "	Perseverance	136	Wm. Kinnear	27 "	From Macquarie Island in 21 days. Cargo 60 tons oil and a gang of 14 men.
1826. 10 Jan.	Elizabeth and Mary	75	W. Worth	1826. 3 Jan.	From Macquarie Island and New Zea- land. Cargo 4000 fur skins and 7 tons oil.
6 Feb.	Perseverance	136	Wm. Kinnear	2 Apl.	Blown off Macquarie Island with loss of anchor and cable; 20 days pas- sage; cargo 60 tons oil, passenger T. Underwood.
9 Mar.	Brutus	252	Rose	30 "	Passenger to Macquarie Island Mr White; left the island 12th April, cargo 200 tons oil.
14 May	Lord Rodney	167	Wm. Kinnear	26 Jly.	Left Macquarie Island 15th July, cargo 120 tons oil.
11 Aug.	Sydney Packet	160	Thompkins	23 Oct.	Took 22 men with stores to McQueens' oiling establishment at Macquarie Island, calling, at end of August at Bruni Island and at New Zealand 9th Oct.; brought back oil.
11 Sep.	Perseverance	136	Wm. Kinnear	3 Dec.	On leaving Sydney went ashore, floated off without difficulty, cargo oil.

1826. 15 Nov.	Lord Rodney	167		1826. 31 Dec.	Had sailed for New Zealand. Left Macquarie Island 22nd Dec., cargo oil.
10 Dec.	Alligator			1827. 26 Mar.	From Macquarie Island via Port Macquarie.
1827. 1 Jan.	Sydney Packet	160	Danl. Taylor	26 Feb.	From and to Hobart Town. With 56 tons of oil she was bound for England from Macquarie Island and put into Hobart Town leaking.
2 Jan.	Perseverance	186	Wm. Kinnear	13 Mar.	With 70 tons oil left Macquarie Island 14th Feb.
23 "	Lord Rodney	167	J. White	20 "	With 100 tons oil left Macquarie Island 1st March.
13 Apl.	Elizabeth and Mary	75		20 Jne.	Cargo of skins and elephant oil, from Macquarie Island (Jne 1).
2 Aug.	Elizabeth and Mary	75	W. Worth	1828. 29 Mar.	For Macquarie Island returned from N.Z. (Mar. 9) with seal skins.
20 "	Perseverance	186	Wm. Kinnear	1827. 12 Oct.	Left Macquarie Island. 25th Sept., with 18 tons of oil and passengers, Jose Perro and Geo. Woodward.
29 "	Governor Arthur		Dodd	1 Nov.	Called at Hobart Town for water, &c., 9th to 11th Sept; brought cargo of 15 tons oil.
11 Nov.	Rolla		White		For London via Macquarie Island.
18 "	Perseverance	186	Wm. Kinnear	1828. 7 Feb.	Cargo of 70 tons oil, from Macquarie Island.
6 Dec.	Governor Arthur		Dodd	7 "	Brought 8 tons oil owned by McQueen, left Macquarie Isd. 17th Jan.

Report of Vessels calling at the Campbell and Macquarie Islands from the date of their discovery
in 1810 to the year 1830,—*Continued.*

Sailing.	Vessel.	Tons.	Master.	Returned.	Remarks.
1828. 9 Jne.	Elizabeth and Mary	75	W. Worth	1828. 21 Sep.	Met severe weather, boats and bulwarks completely washed away. Cargo, oil and skins.
7 Sep.	Perseverance	136	Wm. Kinnear		For Macquarie Isd. and New Zealand with fishing stores. Wrecked on Campbell Island.
7 Dec.	Elizabeth and Mary	75	W. Worth	1829. 7 Apl.	Cargo, oil and skins from Macquarie Island.
1829. 19 Apl.	Blues		Blue		Sailed with colonial produce for Rio Janeiro via Macquarie Island.
20 May	Elizabeth and Mary	75	W. Worth	22 Sept.	With fishery stores, cargo of 330 skins and 18 tons elephant oil, also crew of Perseverance, the wreck of which was reported.
22 Dec.	Faith	136	Willett	1830. 30 Mar.	Cargo, 60 tons elephant oil, brought away two gangs of men who had been 30 months on Macquarie Island.

APPENDIX A.

COOK'S ENDEAVOUR CONTROVERSY.

Correspondence, &c., relating to the fate of the Endeavour, obtained chiefly from American sources by the Author.

1

The Newport Mercury (Rhode Island) August 27, 1793.

Newport, August 27 (Tuesday).

Last Friday Morning arrived here from a Whaling Voyage near the Cape of Good Hope the ship Liberty, Nathaniel Churchill, Master, belonging to Dunkirk.

	Custom House,
	District of Newport, Aug. 26.
Entered	From
Ship Liberty, Churchill.	Whaling.

2

Barbers Chronology (contained in manuscript in the Newport Historical Society's Rooms) made up about 1826, contains the following entry :

1796. Endeavour, Barque, in which Capt. Cook made his 1st voyage came to Newport this year, where she was condemned and sold.

3

Providence Journal (Rhode Island), October 28, 1834.

Cook's Endeavour.

Interesting Relic.

Messrs Miller and Paine.

It is not generally known that the remains of Captain Cook's ship, the 'Endeavour', are now lying in the harbour of Newport. This was the ship which carried out Sir Joseph Banks, and the great Swedish naturalist, Dr. Solander. A well known scientific gentleman of the city of New York, Dr. John Frances, during the last summer obtained a piece of one of her timbers with the view of having it made into snuff boxes to be distributed among the most eminent scientific societies in Europe and America. The history of the old 'Endeavour' is as follows: In 1768 Captain Cook was appointed to her command, and she was destined to convey Sir Isaac Banks and Dr. Solander to the Pacific Ocean to make observations on the transit of Venus. She sailed in June of that year. The transit of Venus (1769, June 3) was advantageously observed at Otaheite: the neighbouring Islands were explored, and Cook then sailed for New Zealand where he arrived in October. After an examination for six months of the shores of the islands, he took his departure for New Holland, the eastern coast of which he surveyed, and on his return to England was promoted from Lieutenant in the navy to the rank of Master and Commander. The 'Endeavour' was purchased for a whaling vessel, and her ultimate destiny was to deposit her bones in the waters of Newport harbour, where they still lie as before observed. Their place of deposit is opposite to, and not very remote from the wharf of Mr Charles Thurston, and they constitute one of the many interesting associations connected with the ancient capital of Rhode Island. The subject is deserving the attention of our Historical Society.

A Newport Visitor.

4

The Evening Transcript (Boston), October 28, 1834.

'The Endeavour.' The Providence Journal received by to-day's mail, informs us of an historical fact, which may be as new to our readers as to us. A correspondent of that paper asserts that the remains of this often mentioned ship, commanded by the celebrated Captain Cook, and which carried out the celebrated Sir Joseph Banks, and the great Swedish naturalist, Dr. Solander, to observe the transit of Venus, in the Pacific Ocean, are now lying in the harbour of Newport, R.I.

The history of the old "Endeavour" is as follows: (here follows as in 3 above).

5

Cook's Endeavour.

The Evening Transcript (Boston), October 29, 1834.

'The Endeavour': Some of our nautical friends, who are familiar with the navigation of the Thames, say that the remains of the 'Endeavour' cannot be in Newport harbour, as she is not yet destroyed, but lies at anchor in the River Thames, between Greenwich and Woolwich, where she is used as a receiving ship for female convicts. The Providence Journal must demand the authority of its correspondence.

6

The Evening Transcript (Boston), October 30, 1834.

The contradiction we gave yesterday, on the authority of intelligent ship masters, to the statement in the Providence Journal, that the remains of the 'Endeavour' the ship in which Captain Cook made his voyage round the world, lies

at Newport, R.I., has induced a gentleman of this city to call at our office and place in our hands a piece of wood of the ship in question, together with the subjoined certificate, which we think sufficient to prevent dispute. What remains of the ship lies at Newport and not in the Thames.

I, John B. Gilpin, His Britannic Majesty's Consul for the State of Rhode Island, do hereby certify to the best of my knowledge and belief, that the annexed small piece of wood is part of the keel of His Britannic Majesty's late ship, the Endeavour, in which Captain Cook made his first voyage round the World in the years 1768, '69, '70 and '71, accompanied by Mr Banks and Dr. Solander.

The Endeavour was afterwards sold, and purchased by a Mr William Hayden of New Bedford, though at that time resident in France, and fitted out from Dunkirk on whaling voyages. She afterwards came to Newport, Rhode Island, consigned to Messrs Gibbs and Channing, from whom I had this information, and taking on board a return cargo, met with some accident in Newport harbour, was unloaded, condemned as unseaworthy, and left to decay. I have frequently seen her hull at low water, and the annexed piece of wood was cut from her keel, under my own inspection, by John Maxon, an honest labourer of this place, and has ever since been in my possession.

Whereof an attestation being requested, I have given the same, under my hand and seal of office, at Newport, Rhode Island, this 14th day of August, A.D., 1824.

J. B. GILPIN.

The Newport Mercury (Rhode Island), November 1, 1834.

The Ship Endeavour: We observe a correspondent of the Providence Journal, who signs himself, 'A Newport Visitor', has published an account of the ship; it is in some respects incorrect. The following, we believe, are the principal facts connected with her arrival at this port.

In the year 1793 a French vessel called the 'Liberty' put into Newport in consequence of the war between England and France. The ship was said to have been the old ship 'Endeavour' in which the celebrated Captain James Cook had circumnavigated the globe, and no doubts appear to have been entertained at the time of the fact, as the name was found stamped on several parts of the ship. After lying at Steven's wharf for one or two years she was removed to the lower part of the town, and in going into the dock was run on a sunken rock and bilged. After remaining in that situation for several years she was condemned as unseaworthy and sold at auction. She was purchased by Captain John Cahoon, now of the Revenue Cutter, and broke up at Clark's wharf and used as firewood. Several of her timbers were preserved by Captain Cahoon until within two or three years since—it having become an object of great curiosity—the whole has been taken away in small pieces as relics by visitors from every part of the States.

We have been promised by an antiquarian friend a more particular statement of the history of this ship.

8

The Providence Journal (Rhode Island),
Monday, November 2, 1834.

Ship Endeavour.

Messrs Miller and Paine.

The account which I gave you, and which you a few days since inserted in your paper concerning Captain Cook's ship the 'Endeavour' has met with the attention of the Boston Transcript. In that paper of Wednesday last it was denied that the remains of the Endeavour were lying in the harbour of Newport, and asserted that they lie in the River Thames. This denial and this assertion it seems were made on the authority of intelligent ship masters. It appears by the 'Transcript' of the following day that the notice of the preced-

ing day induced a gentleman to call at the office of the Transcript and place in the hands of the editor a piece of wood of the ship in question, together with the subjoined certificate, which the editor considers sufficient to prevent dispute.

A Newport Visitor.

(Certificate as in 6 above.)

9

Newport Mercury, November 8, 1834.

The Ship "Endeavour."

In our last "Mercury" we noticed some remarks made in the "Providence Journal" respecting this interesting vessel, and have since seen in the Boston Transcript a statement upon the authority of some masters of vessels that the "Endeavour" instead of ending her days in Newport Harbour, was still in the river Thames near London and used as a receiving ship. We believe the following documents will be sufficient to satisfy the public upon the subject:—

About 1790 the French Government, desirous of obtaining the advantages which would result from the whale fishery, and anxious to secure the employment of experienced navigators in that branch of commerce (and having to contend with Great Britain and Holland, who were powerful competitors) offered a bounty per ton on every vessel which should engage therein, the other governments probably offering the bounty on the return cargo. Captain Wm. Hayden, of New Bedford (then at Dunkirk) by the assistance and aid of a powerful mercantile house there and in Newport, went to England and purchased among other old vessels of large tonnage the "Endeavour." In being affiliated or registered as a French vessel she was named "La Liberté" and under that name came to Newport. A gentleman of this town, and now residing here was at Dunkirk on her arrival, visited her in company with an eminent merchant (Benjamin Rotch) and was then informed of the fact of its being the vessel in ques-

tion. The certificates annexed were obtained for the purpose of being forwarded to Captain Shubrick, of the U.S. Navy for the author of "Red Rover" which work was dedicated to him.

The letter to Captain Shubrick, and the answer from the author of that deeply interesting work, is annexed:—

Copy of a Parchment Certificate from the British Consul.

"I, John Bernard Gilpin, His Britannic Majesty's Consul for the State of Rhode Island, do hereby testify that, according to the best of my knowledge and belief, the box accompanying this certificate having on the cover thereof a plate with an engraving representing a wrecked ship, with the words "Royal Caroline" on the stem, and the words "To the Author of Red Rover" engraved on said plate, is part of the keel of His Britannic Majesty's late ship the "Endeavour" in which Captain James Cook made his first voyage round the world, in the years 1768—69—70 and 1771, accompanied by Mr Banks and Dr. Solander.

"The "Endeavour" was afterwards sold and purchased by Mr Wm. Hayden of New Bedford, though at that time resident in France, and was fitted out from Dunkirk on a whaling voyage. She afterwards came to Newport, Rhode Island, consigned to Messrs Gibbs and Channing, from whom I had this information, and, having taken on board a return cargo, met with some accident in Newport Harbour, was unladen, condemned as unseaworthy, and left to decay. I have frequently seen her hull at low-water, and the wood from which the above-mentioned box is made was cut from her keel by Captain John Cahoon, of the U.S. Revenue cutter "Vigilant" some years since, and has remained in his possession until the box was made. Whereof attestation being requested I have hereunto set my hand and seal of office at Newport, in the State of Rhode Island, this first day of December, A.D. 1828."

(Signed) JOHN B. GILPIN.

Extract from letter of Robert Stevens, Esq.

"As to the ship that went round the world: She came to my wharf September 2nd, 1793, and lay there until 30th

May, 1794, when she attempted to move to Mr. Gibb's lower wharf, where she grounded. When she came to my wharf she was called "The Liberty" and came, I think, from France. Her cargo was oil and whalebone.

"Dated, Newport, April 2, 1828."

From Wm. Rotch, jr., of New Bedford.

"Thy letter of 30th ultimo came duly to hand, and I am pleased with the opportunity of confirming the character of the vessel there described. My neighbour, Seth Russell, tells me "Liberté" which came to Newport in '92 or '93 was the "Endeavour"; that their house purchased her materials and put them in a new ship called the "Wareham." As Captain Hayden went to France in 1778 I conclude the "Endeavour" was purchased in 1790 or '91 and fitted from Dunkirk."

Newport (R.I.), Dec. 1, 1828.

To William B. Shubrick, Esq.,

Captain U.S. Navy.

Respected Sir,

We take the liberty of forwarding to your address a box made from part of the keel of the ship Endeavour, in which Captain Cook first circumnavigated the world in 1768, '69, '70 and '71, with certificates from the British Consul and Captain Cahoone, and letters from other gentlemen authenticating the wood and the vessel which we request you to present to the author of the Red Rover, as a testimony of our sincere respect for his talents, and admiration of his graphic description of Newport harbour and Naroang Ansett Bay, and of his works in general. The present, though trifling, may be to a mariner not uninteresting, and other certificates respecting the Endeavour will be forwarded if requested. The past years of our town present many reminiscences which the author of the Red Rover may perhaps like to refer to, and we should be pleased to obtain for him any information which may be requested.

Very respectfully, Your obedient servants,—

Nicholas G. Ross, G. H. Wolf, J. Bayley,

Peter Clarke, Frank Ellery.

Paris, September 27, 1830.

Gentlemen,

In consequence of a long absence from Paris, which has consumed the years 1828 and '29, and most of the present, my correspondence with Captain Shubrick has been interrupted. I have had the pleasure, however, of receiving a letter from him, within a few days, in which he has sent me the first notice I have received of the compliment you have been pleased to pay me. As he was still ignorant of my return to this place he very rightly judged it safest to keep the box for further directions.

For the goodwill manifested in your remarks, as for the curious relic you have presented me, gentlemen I wish to return my sincere thanks. The first object of a writer should be the support of just and honourable sentiments. When an author of fiction has sufficiently respected this imperative obligation it would seem that he has some right to felicitate himself that his pictures, whether of the passions, or of sensible objects, are so like the originals as to be recognised by those who are the most familiar with the subjects. Your approbation is therefore more than usually flattering to me, and I shall preserve the present as its pledge.

Nothing would give me more pleasure than to receive the interesting anecdotes to which you allude. I hope that I have a friend still living at Providence in the person of Mr Whipple, who would take the trouble to communicate them, or I shall be happy to hear directly from any one of your number. As I hope, however, to return home within the year, an opportunity may offer to hear them recounted verbally. Should such an occasion occur I should not neglect to repeat my thanks for the evidence of your partiality in my favour.

With the best good wishes, gentlemen, I remain, your humble servant,

J. FENNIMORE COOPER.

To Messrs Ross, Wolf, Bayley,
Clarke and Ellery,
Newport.

10

The Evening Transcript (Boston), November 21, 1834.

Last paragraph of article "Newport, R.I., November 17."

You contradicted the story of the timbers of Captain Cook's ship Endeavour being buried in the sands of this harbour. You were right, and I shall tell you that there was not a word of truth for the foundation of the original story. That ship was NEVER in the Harbour, and I do not hesitate to say that Mr Consul Gilpin was mistaken.

11

Providence Journal (Rhode Island), November 27, 1834.

The Ship 'Endeavour.'

An anonymous correspondence in the Boston Transcript asserts that that journal was right in contradicting the assertion that the ship 'Endeavour' went to pieces in Newport harbour. The Transcript took that assertion back upon the sworn statement it published of the British Consul, who had long resided at Newport, Mr Gilpin. If the old vessel did lay her bones at Newport, or elsewhere in New Zealand, it is an interesting fact. There should, however, be no *humbug* about it either way. As the matter now stands the *sworn* document of the British Consul is only contradicted by an anonymous correspondent of the Boston Transcript. If the Editor of the Transcript, or anyone else, will give evidence that the British Consul was misinformed or mistaken, he ought so to do. The real *truth* is desirable.

12

Providence Journal (Rhode Island), December 3, 1834.

From The Newport Mercury, November 8.

The Ship 'Endeavour.'

(As printed in 9 above.)

13

The Evening Transcript (Boston), December 4, 1834.

The Ship Endeavour. We have placed on the first page, from the Newport Mercury, a series of documents which would persuade one that the Remains of the ship 'Endeavour', the vessel in which Captain Cook circumnavigated the globe, lie at Newport. The intelligent reader will note that the ship Endeavour which entered Newport as the French ship La Liberté, is assumed to be the same ship that was once commanded by the great navigator, but the fact is not proved. Endeavour is a very common name for a ship.

(Documents as printed in 9 above.)

14

Providence Journal (Rhode Island), December 17, 1834.

Ship Endeavour Again.

Messrs Editors,

Having recently seen numerous statements in your paper respecting the above named ship, permit me, if you please, to add my mite of knowledge respecting her, and you will oblige
The Underwriter.

In the year 1825 I sailed from Boston to the Azores as first officer of a vessel which was unfortunately cast away at the Island of Gracious: after which, by the assistance of Thomas Hickley, Esq., American Consul, and Gen. William H. Reed, British Consul at St. Michaels, I procured a passage to England in one of the Government brigs of Great Britain, which put into St. Michaels for refreshment on her way from Sierra Leone in Africa to Plymouth, England. The vessel's name was the Williams and Amelia, Edward Jones, Commander: she was loaded with teak wood. While on board that vessel, on her passage to England, Captain Jones informed me that among the numerous curiosities in and about

London, I should probably see the hull of Captain Cook's ship, the Endeavour, which sailed round the world, and which was moored in the river Thames.

After arriving at Plymouth, Mr Fox, the American Agent there (a Quaker gentleman) procured me a passage to London in one of the trading brigs (the name of which I do not now recollect) commanded by a Captain Fawckner. We arrived in the river Thames in the beginning of August, 1825, and in going up the river we came to an anchor off Greenwich. I then accompanied the Captain on shore, together with an elderly gentleman (a fellow passenger) in order to go into the Observatory at Greenwich, but in going to that Establishment, Captain Fawckner fell in company with an old acquaintance a "Greenwich pensioner," a worthy looking old weather beaten tar, who insisted upon showing us the principal apartments of Greenwich Hospital: and who also introduced us to many of his old sailor companions in and about the 'British Sailors Palace.' Among other subjects, I recollect hearing one old sailor say that he and about six others were all that now remained of the crew of the Endeavour, and that the greatest pleasure he now enjoyed was in his frequent visits to the "old hulk," as she now lies moored a short distance from Greenwich.

Accordingly, after leaving this interesting spot, we proceeded up the river, but soon had to lie by on account of wind and tide not being favourable. Captain Fawckner told the passengers that he would gratify us by hauling alongside the Endeavour and making fast to her until the return of the tide. He therefore warped the brig up, and made fast to the identical hull of the ship Endeavour, which conveyed Captain Cook on a voyage round the world.

Here we lay, several hours, alongside the "Pride of the Thames" and although a clump, heavy-timbered, black looking wooden floating castle, with a high quarter deck and top-gallant forecastle, but without masts: yet every part of her was kept in the neatest order by the family residing on board, consisting of an old pensioner, his children and grandchildren, who all obtained a genteel livelihood by showing the different parts of the vessel to visitors from all parts of the world.

The ship lay moored on the river Thames within sight of the city of London as well as Greenwich, and within sound of the Clock of St. Pauls Cathedral—for it was on board the Endeavour that I first heard the clock of St. Pauls strike three on the afternoon of my arrival in London, Thursday, August 4th, 1825: and I shall never forget the impression it made upon my mind at the time.

I have no further interest in the ship Endeavour: neither does it strike me as a matter of great curiosity in her being the same ship which conveyed Captain Cook, Dr. Solander, etc., round the world, because I have been in the Pacific Ocean myself, and would esteem a box made from the keel of the ship Lima of Nantucket as valuable as any ever manufactured for the author of the "Red Rover," out of the waterlogged wreck at Newport. Yet, I believe that the Americans would as soon sell "Old Ironsides" for a mud scow as the Government of Great Britain peddle their 'Endeavour' for a French Whaler.

ROBERT W. JENKS,
Providence Museum.

15

In the history of Rhode Island (1853), by Revd. Ed. Peterson, p. 138, the following passage occurs:—

"In 1768 the ship 'Endeavour' commanded by Captain James Cook, sailed from England for the South Seas having on board Sir Joseph Banks, and for the purposes of observing the transit of Venus over the Sun's disc, which took place on the 4th June, 1769. After making the observations at Otaheite, Captain Cook proceeded south, and having made many discoveries returned by way of Cape of Good Hope to England in 1771.

"She was subsequently engaged in the whaling business, and put into Newport, in consequence of war between England and France, where she was condemned. She was then sold for the benefit of the underwriters to Captain John Cahoon, and his brother Stephen (father of Benjamin J. Cahoon of the

U.S. Navy) who were building a packet called the "Concord," and the materials which were found suitable were worked in.

"For many years the lower part of her hull lay on Cahoon's shore at the south part of the town. It has long since disappeared, having been manufactured into curios, boxes. etc., as curiosities.

"William Gilpin, Esq., has in his possession the crown taken from her stern."

The Newport News (Rhode Island), June 5, 1857.

The 'Endeavour' was sold in France about 1789 or '90 and was fitted as a whaling vessel from Dunkirk in the northern department of France, and called the "Libertie." G. S. Champlin, Esq., was in Dunkirk when she arrived. She sailed from that seaport under command of Captain William Hayden, and was chased into Newport by a British frigate in the year 1792 or '93. She was then assigned to Gibbs and Channing. Mr William Friend had charge of her while she lay at Steven's wharf, a period of seven months, and the owners not daring to send her cargo to sea in a French bottom vessel, built a new vessel and shipped it in her. The 'Endeavour' or 'Liberté' was anchored for some two years in the harbour; in the rear of the premises of Albert Sherman, Esq., when, per order of Mr Gibbs, she being unseaworthy, she was dismantled by Captain James Hart, and the house of Seth Russell, Esq., of New Bedford, as Hon. Wm. Rotch, jr., in his letter to Nicholas G. Ross, Esq., 5.M.5, 1828, relates, "purchased her materials and put them on a new ship called the "Wareham," I believe. Mr Rotch also remarks in the same letter,—“I am pleased with the opportunity of confirming the character of the vessel there described. My neighbour, Seth Russell, tells me the 'Libertie,' which came to Newport in '92 or '93 was the 'Endeavour.'”

The letter of Mr Rotch, the certificate of John B. Gilpin, His Britannic Majesty's Consul for R.I., certifying that the

'Libertie' was the late ship in which Captain James Cook made his first voyage round the world in the years 1768, 1769, 1770, and 1771, accompanied by Mr Banks, and Doct. Solander, and the depositions of the late David Melville, Esq., and Capt. James Westgate have been this day deposited with B. B. Howland, Esq., Keeper of the Cabinet at Newport.

The keel was bought by John Cahoone and his brother Stephen. The Pall-Pit or Sampson post, some seven feet long, may be seen in Counting Rooms of Joshua Sayer, Esq. The French Crown on her stern is in the office of Wm. Gilpin, Esq. Boxes made of the wood are in being, some in shape of money boxes, whether intended as a memento to the youth or not I have not learned, but certain it is the name 'Endeavour' is wisely monetary, for who in any department ever succeeds unless he endeavours with persevering energy and care to secure the object of his pursuit? Prov. 22 : 29, H.J.

17

Admiralty,

28th May, 1906.

Sir,

With reference to your letter of the 19th instant requesting information relative to the ship "Endeavour" in which Captain Cook discovered New Zealand, I am commanded by My Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to acquaint you that the barque Endeavour, 370 tons, was built for the Coal Trade, and purchased by the Admiralty in 1768, having been specially selected as well suited for the purpose of Captain Cook's voyage. In 1773 she appears to have been fitted as a Store Ship and was finally sold on the 7th March, 1775, for the sum of £645.

I am,

Sir,

Your obedient servant,

EVAN MACGREGOR.

Robert McNab, Esq.,

c/o High Commissioner for New Zealand,

Westminster Chambers,

13 Victoria Street, S.W.

THE AUTHOR'S NOTES.

Number 17 shows that the British Government disposed of the Endeavour in 1775. A period of 15 years therefore elapsed before she was alleged to have been sold into the French Marine. The author knows from his own investigations that the name Endeavour had by the year 1790 been given to two other vessels by the Admiralty. The custom appears to have long been followed of keeping alive well known names.

The year 1824 is the date of the first certificate of J. B. Gilpin (in No. 6). This gentleman who was British Consul at Newport may be taken to be a man of responsibility. He says that to the best of his knowledge and belief the Liberty was the Endeavour. Fifty-three years had passed since Cook sailed in the Endeavour; forty-nine years had passed since the British Government had sold the Endeavour; thirty-four years had passed since the Liberty was purchased; yet Gilpin gives not one single statement to show that he spoke from his personal knowledge; he states on the contrary, that he procured the information from Messrs Gibbs and Channing (vide No. 6). It is therefore no longer the authority of the British Consul, but of the consignees of the Liberty who only saw her 18 years after Cook's Endeavour had been sold, and whose statement is put on record 31 years after that. There is therefore nothing but the personal recollection in 1824, of the statements of men who could only have known from hearsay, to support the contention that Cook's Endeavour of 1775 was the French Liberty of 1793.

As against that we have very strong evidence. We have first of all the evidence of the nautical men of Boston who challenged the statement in 1834 when it was published, saying in reply that the Endeavour was actually then on the Thames between Greenwich and Woolwich used as a receiving ship for female convicts. This should have been capable of easy proof or disproof at that date in any Eastern port of the United States. The most important evidence however is that of R. W. Jenks of the Providence Museum, who states (in No. 14) that on 4th August, 1825, he visited the old Endeavour on

the Thames, at that time looked after by an old pensioner who obtained a livelihood by showing her to visitors. This is quite consistent with the statement that in 1834 she was used for female convicts.

Apart from challenging the accuracy of any person bearing testimony on this interesting point, it should be borne in mind that there may have been an innocent mistake. The *Liberty* may have once been called the *Endeavour*; more than that, she may once have belonged to the Admiralty. One of the oldest *Endeavour* logs searched in the Record Office, London, by the author, shows that a Sloop of War called the *Endeavour* was sold out of the Service in 1783. The vessel purchased by Captain Hayden may therefore have been an ex-Admiralty vessel called the *Endeavour*, falsely represented to the purchaser, or erroneously supposed by him, to be Cook's. Given this and the whole Newport version, including Gibbs' and Channing's statement, is easily understood and explained.

Summed up the position is as follows: On the Thames in 1825 was a vessel represented to be Cook's *Endeavour*, in charge of a pensioner and shown to thousands of sight seers as such. In 1835 a similar vessel was used for female convicts. At Newport was a vessel called the *Liberty*, stated in 1824 to be Cook's *Endeavour*, and to have been sold in 1790 to France and sent in 1793 to Newport, U.S.A. The two rival contentions cannot be compared. The Thames view could not have lived for a day, if a fraud; while even in America every statement of the Newport version had its accuracy challenged. The Thames contention must prevail.

The author has carefully investigated this question of the fate of the *Endeavour*, as Australian historical men have accepted generally the American contention. This has always been based upon Gilpin's certificate and that on being weighed is found to be nothing more than a declaration, that someone else, who had no personal means of knowing, told him. On account of the Newport version being so generally received the author puts forward his conclusions with diffidence, but the more the position is analyzed, the more probable does it appear, that the *Endeavour* ended her days in English waters.

APPENDIX B.

PICKERSGILL'S JOURNAL.

Journal kept by Lieutenant Pickersgill of the Resolution during Cook's stay at Dusky in 1773, copied from the original in the Record Office, London, by the Author.

Friday, March 26th. At Noon running among Islands at the Head of the Bay looking for an Anchoring Place.

Remarks, &c., in Dusky Bay.

Saturday, March 27th. Moderate Breezes and fine Wr. running up Dusky Bay in search of a Harbour. P M at 1 saw several appearances of good Bays but could get no soundings off them. At 2 Hove too. Hoisted out the Boats and sent away an officer in the Pinnace to look for an Harbour. At $\frac{1}{2}$ past 2 the signal was made from the Pinnace of having found soundings & bore up and anchor'd under an Island in 50 fms water and moor'd with a Hawser to the Shore. At 4 an Officer went away in the Pinnace to look for a more convenient Harbour for the Ship. At 7 return'd having found a very good one. Sent away a Boat fishing with Hooks and Lines, she soon return'd with great plenty of Fish which we issued out to the Ships Company. In the night hard rain. A M sent away the fishing Boat again. At 9 weigh'd and made sail for the other Harbour. At 10 work'd betwixt 2 Islands. At 11 run thro' a narrow passage between an Island and the So Shore and at Noon Anchor'd in Pickersgill Harbour in 17 fathom water. Hazy wear with small rain, the fishing Boat return'd with plenty of Fish for all Hands. Ther 55.

Sunday, 28th. Hard rain. P M at 1 weigh'd the Anchor and

warp'd opposite a small Cove, then let go the anchor oar'd away Cable and warp'd Her into the Cove and secured her with Hawsers to the Shore. At day light a Boat went away fishing, and another with some of the officers upon a shooting party. At 10 the officers return'd having met with some of the Natives in a fine Bay a mile and a half or 2 miles to the No ward of the Ship. There were 2 of the Native Canoes follow'd them but they return'd after taking a short view at the Ship. The fishing Boat brought on board plenty of Fish. Served $\frac{1}{2}$ allowance of Beef & Pork.

Monday, 29th. Moderate Breezes with rain. P M at 1 the Indian Canoe came and took a much nearer reconnoitre than before but wou'd not come on board for all the friendly signals we cou'd make to them. At 4 the Capt and some of the officers went to the Bay where they had been in the morning but they could not get a sight of the Indians who they supposed had fled to the woods. AM. Hoisted out the Launch. Carpenters employed clearing away the Woods to fix a Brow from the Ship to the Shore. Therr 60°.

Remarks, &c., in Pickersgill Harbour, Dusky Bay.

Tuesday, 30th. Fine Wear P M dry'd sails. Employ'd fixing Tents and getting the Astronomers Instruments to hand. Sent ashore some Empty Casks and fix'd a Tent for the Cooper. We abound in excellent Fish procur'd with one Boat in 2 or 3 hours of a morning. Therr 56.

Wednesday, 31st. The first part fair Wr, the middle and latter strong Gales with rain. Got down Top Gallt Yards. Carpenters cutting wood. Got the Forge on shore and set it up. Ther 59.

Thursday, April 1st. The first part calm, the middle and latter little winds. Got the cables from the Starboard side of the Hold upon the Fore Castle to come at some Provision which was under them. Carpenters, Armourers Sailmakers &c &c at their different employments. Therr 61.

Friday, 2nd. Fine wear. Brew'd Beer for the Ships Company of a Tree we find here a good deal resembling the

- American Spruce Tree. Dry'd sails. Unbent those that wanted repairing and sent them to the sailmakers Tent on shore. The various parties as yesterday. Therr 55.
- Saturday, 3rd. Fresh Gales and Hazy. The people in every respect as yesterday. Therr 57.
- Sunday, 4th. Fresh Gales and Hazy with rain. Clean'd Ship Fore & Aft. The People at their own disposal being Sunday. Therr 58.
- Monday, 5th. Hard rain and Hail all this day. Got Beer on board for the People and stop'd their Spirits. This Beer I think a pleasant drink. The People seem fond of it. A.M. at Work on board getting provisions to hand in the Hold. The different Parties at their different occupations. Therr 54.
- Tuesday, 6th. Winds and weather very variable with frequent hard showers of rain. The people all employ'd at their different callings. The Captain went away in the Pinnace surveying the Sound. Therr 60½.
- Wednesday, 7th. Weather much the same as yesterday. P M the Captain return'd and acquainted us with his having met with 3 of the Natives—a man and 2 women on an Island a mile and ½ distant from the Ship with whom he had had some converse. People all at their various employments. Therr 59.
- Thursday, 8th. Continual Wet Nasty Wear. All Hands at their respective Businesses. Therr 52.
- Friday, 9th. Cloudy with frequent hard showers of rain. The Captain away surveying the Bay. People at their various Employments. We abound every day in as good Fish as can be eat. Therr 50½.
- Saturday, 10th. Cloudy with frequent showers of rain. The Carpenters cutting wood. Armourers at work at the Forge. Sailmakers repairing sails and the People on board employ'd in Hold. Watering and stowing the necessary provision to hand. Ther 51½.
- Sunday, 11th. The first part cloudy with showers the latter fair wear. Dry'd sails. The Indian with his family came into the Cove with their Canoe and landed a few yards from the Ship. Ther 54.

- Monday, 12th.** P M Fair Wear. The People at their own disposal being Sunday. The Indian and His Family continued by the Shore side till the Evening then retir'd a few yards into the Wood, made a fire, dress'd their supper which consisted of very good fish, then lay'd themselves down by the Fireside for the Night. In the morning they came again to the shore but we cou'd not prevail on them to come on board. A.M. the Parties at their work as above mentioned. Ther 50°.
- Tuesday, 13th.** Little winds with frequent showers of rain. P.M. The Indians left our Neighbourhood. All hands at their various vocations. Ther 58.
- Wednesday, 14th.** Cloudy with frequent showers these 24 hours. The People at their different Employments, the Captain surveying the Bay. Ther 53.
- Thursday, 15th.** P.M. Cloudy with frequent showers of rain. A.M. Fair wear. Dry'd sails. The Captain and 3rd Lieut. went away with the Pinnace and small cutter. People at their work. Ther 53.
- Friday, 16th.** P.M. Fair Wear A.M. Cloudy with rain. All Hands at their respective Businesses. Ther 58.
- Saturday, 17th.** For the most part wet nasty wear. with some short intervals of fair wear. All the Parties at their work. The Carpenter and 3rd Lieut return'd with the Pinnace and Cutter. Ther 56.
- Sunday, 18th.** Light airs and fair weather throughout these 24 hours. P.M. The Parties are at their work. A.M. All Hands at their own Leisure it being Sunday. Our old friend the Indian came with his Family and landed as before a little distance from the Ship. We have daily as much very excellent Fish as we can demolish.
- Monday, 19th.** Little winds and fair wear. A.M. the Carpenter cutting wood, Sailmakers repairing sails, Armourers at the Forge. Employ'd on board about the Rigging and in the Hold. The Captain and some of the Officers went away up the Bay in the Pinnace and small cutter. The Indians came on board this morning and view'd the Vessel with which they seem'd exceedingly well pleas'd. They seem'd very desirous of Hatchets, Nails, Fish Hooks &c &c

with which I believe they got themselves very well paid for the honour they did us in trusting themselves aboard. Ther 57½.

Tuesday, 20th. Little winds and fair wear. The Parties all disposed of as yesterday. Ther 58.

Wednesday, 21st. Do. Wr. All Hands at their various occupations. The Captain and Officers return'd having been upwards of 7 Leagues up the Sound where they found it to end in a sandy Beach, here they saw 4 or 5 more of the Natives—Men and Women. Ther 55.

Thursday, 22nd. Very fine pleasant wear. All Hands at their work. Bent the Main and Fore Topsails. Ther 53.

Friday, 23rd. Fair Pleasant Wear. The Parties at their different Business. Tr 52.

Saturday, 24th. Fair Wear. The Artificers & People Employ'd as abovementioned. Ther 53½.

Sunday, 25th. Variable Showery Wear. P.M. People at their work. A.M. At their own disposal being Sunday. Ther 54.

Monday, 26th. Cloudy wet Weather. Hove the Ship out of the Cove to her Anchor and Moor'd with a Hawser to the Shore. Tr 52.

Tuesday, 27th. For the most part cloudy wet weather with some short intervals of fair weather. Scrap'd the Masts and pay'd them with Varnish of Pine. The Artificers at their Various Employments. Tr 50.

Wednesday, 28th. Cloudy weather with frequent showers of rain. Completed the ship with wood and water. Her draught of water forward 15 f 11. Aft 15 f 10. Ther 50.

Thursday, 29th. Calm and hazey weather. Got off the Tents and everything from the Shore. Ther 47.

Friday, 30th. Variable Hazey Wear with frequent rain. P.M. at 2 weigh'd with a light Breeze from the Westward. At 2 past 5 it falling calm, anchor'd again in 50 fathoms water. A.M. at 10 weigh'd again with a light breeze westerly, which soon shifted to No. and Et. At Noon working to windward, Boats towing ahead. We have still great plenty of excellent fish.

- Saturday, 1st May. Light airs & calms with small rain.
P.M. at 6 anchor'd withing a cables length of the shore and steady'd Her with a Hawser to the Shore. A.M. weigh'd at 6 and work'd to windward with a light breeze from the N.E. Ther 49.
- Sunday, 2nd. Light variable Winds & calm with small rain.
P.M. at 2 finding we could not make head against the Tide, bore away to a small cove upon the Eastern Shore and anchor'd in 30 fm water and steady'd with a Hawser to the Shore. Ther 50½.
- Monday, 3rd. Calm & cloudy wear., these 24 hours waiting a Breeze to carry us to sea. Ther 51.
- Tuesday, 4th. Light air and calms with cloudy wear. and frequent hard showers of rain. P.M. At 1 got under way but it soon after falling calm we got to our old anchoring Cove again and secured as before. Ther 48.
- Wednesday, 5th. Variable winds and weather with showers of rain. P.M. At 1 got under way with a light Breeze from the S.W, which run us to the mouth of the Northern Passage leading from this Bay to sea. At 4 it falling calm we Anchor'd in a Cove just at the Entrance of the Northern Passage in 30 fm. water and steady'd with a Hawser to the Shore. The latter part of these 24 hours squally Wear. with Hail, Rain, Snow, Thunder and Lightning. Ther 51½.
- Thursday, 6th. Cloudy with frequent showers of rain. P.M. At 2 weigh'd with a fine Breeze from the S W. At 8 anchor'd under a Point about mile from the Sea at the Outermost End of this Northern Passage, steadyed with a Hawser to the Shore. A.M. Got all the cables from betwixt Decks, Clean'd Ship Fore and Aft, and made fires in many parts of Her. The 3rd Lieut. went Away in the Pinnacle to survey the remaining part of the Bay. Ther 46.
- Friday, 7th. P.M. Hazy with showers of rain. A.M. Strong Gales & squally with hard rain, got down the Fore Gallant Yards. Ther 51.
- Saturday, 8th. P.M. Strong Gales with hard squalls and rain, lowered down the Lower Yards. A.M. the weather

more modte the 3rd Lieut. returned with the Pinnacle, sway'd the Lower Yards up, the Captain away in the Pinnacle surveying. Ther 50.

Sunday, 9th. Mod & Cloudy with frequent hard showers of rain, the Master away in the Cutter sounding the passage to Sea. Tr 49.

Monday, 10th. The first part fair wear. Hoisted in the Launch, the Middle and Latter strong Gales with rain. Tr 49.

Tuesday, 11th. P.M. mod with showers of Hail, the Pinnacle and Cutter out Hunting of seals, the small rocky Islands just at the mouth of this passage abounds with them. A.M. Fine wear. with Little Winds from the S E, at 9 got under way and up Top Gallt Yards, at 11 hoisted in the Boats, at Noon Mod: Breezes and fair wear. with a heavy swell from the N.W. Obsd Latde $45^{\circ} 35'$ S. An Island a little without the mouth of the Passage E.S.E. distant $1 \frac{1}{2}$ miles. We were 2 or 3 miles without the passage, the No'thern Extreme of the Land N. 12 E, 4 or 5 Leagues. Tr 53.

Latitude of Pickersgill's Harbour where we refitted $43^{\circ} 47' 50''$ S.

Longitude well settled by Lunar Observation 166. 18 Et.

Variation of the Compass there 13.20 E'erly.

APPENDIX C.

MENZIES' JOURNAL.

Journal of Lieutenant Menzies the Botanist of Vancouver's Expedition, while at Dusky in 1791 and after leaving that Port, copied from the manuscript in the British Museum by the Author.

Novr. 2nd, 1791. On the 2nd of Novr. we had a fresh breeze & still fair with squally & dark hazy weather which at intervals cleared up so as to give us in the forenoon an imperfect sight of the land of New Zealand. We were at the same time met by vast flights of very small divers — blue petrels & Seals. At noon our Latitude by a Meridian altitude was $46^{\circ} 00'$ South. We then steered for *Dusky Bay* which we entered about 7 in the evening with a heavy rolling swell from the westward & light baffling air of wind that obligd us to hoist the boats out to assist in towing the ship into the Bay.

As we passed close to Point five-fingers which makes the North point of Entrance our eyes were fixd for some time upon its wild & romantic appearance. It is formed by a group of high peaked insulated Rocks perforated with holes & hideous caverns & furnishd with projecting rocks & steep cliffs that in many places overhung their base yet afforded a scanty nourishment to some trees & bushes which here & there issued from crevices & adornd their craggy sides — A little behind these a very steep rocky shore rose to a moderate height & was covered towards the summit with trees of different

kinds, forming on the whole a prospect truly picturesque & which at this time was certainly heightened by the novelty of our situation — the calm serenity of the evening & the wild hideous noise of a heavy surf dashing incessantly against the rocks & cavernous shore.

About nine the wind dying away entirely we both came to an anchor near the entrance of Facile Harbour under the western shore in 40 fathoms — Point five fingers S. 38 W & the outer point of Anchor Island S. 5 W. — It remained calm during the night & a dark gloomy stillness pervaded the whole place from the high mountains with which we were surrounded.

- 3d. On the morning of the 3d. of Novr Capt Vancouver Lt Broughton & Mr Whidbey went in the cutter into Facile Harbour in order to pitch upon a good situation for both Vessels. A boat was likewise employed in fishing & in the course of a few hours returnd with good success. But towards noon it came on to blow very fresh & squally which drove the Discovery off the Bank, nor did the dropping of a second Anchor avail the depth of water being too great. Guns were fired which soon brought the party on board from Facile Harbour, & after both anchors were hove up having drove a good way to leeward we made sail & began working up to our former Anchorage which we were on the point of regaining when at five in the evening the strap of the fore top sail sheet block gave way & on account of the narrowness of the Channel obligd us to bear up for Anchor Island Harbour where very soon after we came to an anchor in 26 fathoms soft muddy bottom at the entrance of a small cove & after veering half a cable we were snug in the cove with our stern within 40 yards of the shore in 13 fathoms water. The Ship was further secured by a Hawser run out to each point of the Cove & one over each quarter, which were made fast on shore to large trees, & as the gale seemed increasing the Top Gallant Masts Top Masts & lower yards were struck which on the whole rendered our situation as snug & secure as possible. In consequence of our hurry & tem-

pestuous blowing weather Lt Broughton was obliged to stay on board the Discovery & was for a time separated from his vessel which still held her ground where she first anchored. During the night it continued to blow a very strong gale from North North West with frequent heavy squalls.

- 4th. On the morning of the fourth the Gale increased in its fury to a perfect storm with squalls & very heavy falls of rain which induced us to drop another Anchor under foot — send the Top Gallant Masts down upon deck — strike the mizen top Mast and point the Yards fore & aft. By ten in the forenoon the gale somewhat abated & the weather became more moderate & fair. This tempestuous storm had so rarified the atmosphere that vapours were now seen ascending from different parts of the woods on the sides of the Mountains not unlike large columns of Smoke & the Mercury in the Barometer had sunk so low as 29.20.

A little before noon I went on shore with Capt Vancouver Lt Broughton and Mr Whidbey. Their object was to find a commodious place for carrying on the business of wooding & watering, while mine was to botanize & examine the natural produce of the country, nor did either of us return disappointed, for abreast of the ship a fine run of fresh water was discovered with wood close to the shore sufficient to supply all our wants; there were likewise found large Trees of what has been called New Zealand Spruce, so that the whole business of wooding watering brewing &c could be carried on here with great ease under the commanding officer's eye from the ship.

They then rowed out to the entrance of the harbour to see if the Chatham had still remained in the same situation after the late storm, which they were happy to find she did, while I made an excursion into the woods & met with a vast variety of Ferns & Mosses I had never before seen. They are two tribes of plants of which I am particularly fond, therefore no one can conceive the pleasure I enjoyed unless placed under similar circumstances.

I returned on board in the afternoon loaded with my treasures & had sufficient to employ me in examining & arranging for the following day, which indeed was very lucky for in the evening it began to blow again a very hard gale from the same quarter as before & if possible with more fury the whole night & the greatest part of next day attended with very heavy falls of rain. I do not remember ever seeing the foaming surface of the sea drifting about in the air in such quantity & and with such violence as during some parts of this storm. The mountains round about us were covered with fresh snow pretty low down.

6th. On the 6th. the Weather being now moderate & fair Lieut. Broughton returned this forenoon on board his vessel & removd her into Facile Harbour. A party was employed in clearing a place for a large Tent which was sent on shore & pitchd near the fresh water run, while others were engagd in the various duties of wooding watering fishing & a party had gone shooting, so that there were very few idlers amongst us. The plant called the New Zealand Tea being wanted as an ingredient for brewing beer, I went in a boat in the afternoon to search for it round the Harbour but did not meet with any of it near the shore, it was however found next day in abundance higher up in the woods above the Cove in the direction of the fresh water Rivulet, & it may appear singular that in this excursion I only met with three different plants in flower though this month corresponds with the Month of May in England. The shores were bound round with rocky perpendicular cliffs covered to their verge with thick wood, so that there were not many places on which we could land without considerable obstruction & difficulty.

7th. The Brewing Utensils were sent on shore on the 7th & a Brewery established near the Tent which was superintended by Mr Orchard. The Carpenters began felling of Timber, which is to be got here in great plenty with very little trouble & good in quality for almost any purpose whatever.

I had another botanical excursion in the woods but met with nothing different from what I had seen in my last excepting several kinds of Mosses which were in full perfection particularly *Hypna* and *Jungermannias*.

That the reader may accompany me with more ease through the different parts of this extensive Sound I recommend to his perusal the Chart of it in Cook's Voyage which we found very accurate.

8th. In the morning of the 8th. a Boat was sent on Board the Chatham & I embraced the opportunity of going in her with an intent to remain with my friends in Facile Harbour for some days in order to examine the woods & Shore in that neighbourhood. We found the Chatham in a very comfortable situation, hauld into a snug Cove & Moord by Hawsers to the Trees, & her Commander on shore within a stones throw of her attending the different duties that were going forward. In the afternoon I accompanied him to Cormorant Cove where we shot some Ducks & Shags & found a considerable rivulet emptying itself into the head of it. This day was mostly fair with a moderate breeze from the Southward.

9th. On the following day I was favord with a Boat which enabled me to examine several parts of Facile Harbour. I went but a little way from the Vessel when I found on a small Island plenty of the New Zealand Tea which was much wanted at the Brewery, & in this days excursion I collected a number of *Cryptoganic* plants I had not before seen, & was not a little pleasd to meet with pretty large trees of the *Wintera aromatica* & *Batula antarctica*. The former I suspect to be what is called the Pepper plant on Norfolk Island — See Philips Voyage to Botany Bay page 78.

We saw a hut in one place near the shore which did not appear to have been inhabited for a long time. It was of an obtuse conic form, about 4 feet high & 6 in diameter at the bottom, composed of slender sticks crossing each other & fastened together with twigs, closely thatched over all with grass & ferns, with the marks of a fire place before the door of it which faced towards the wood.

10th. On the morning of the 10th Lieutenant Broughton Messrs Johnstone Walker & myself formed a shooting party & after breakfast set out for Goose Cove which we reachd in the afternoon, but as it was then low water the boat was of no service to us. We therefore landed & in order to have better sport divided into two parties one on each side of the Cove, & though we saw a great number of the black Sea Pies Curlews & some Ducks, the mud was too deep to suffer us to get near enough to them to make much execution. After going up the Cove about half way we returnd & met again at the entrance when it was found that our success fell far short of our expectations. It was now consulted whether we should relinquish any further attempts & return on board or remain here all night & renew our sport again early in the morning, the latter was agreed upon, & we instantly movd towards a hut which had been observd in the verge of the wood on the east side of the Cove as a place eligibly situated for our encampment.

This hut was the same form & size as the one in Facile Harbour but it was much fresher & seemed to have been later inhabited by some of the Natives, perhaps within the last twelve months. There was a fire place before it with a great number of ear shells & limpets scattered round it, the contents of which I dare say had been used as food. There were likewise the remains of two rude baskets formd of the bark of a Tree laying close to it. We immediately set about giving this hut a fresh coat of thatch & had the bottom of it spread over with a thick layer of Ferns for our beds. We kindled a large fire before the entrance which was kept up by a Centinel all night to keep off the sand-flies which were very troublesome, & after dressing some of our game on which we made a hearty Meal we retir'd to sleep on our comfortable fern beds, & being pleasantly situated at the foot of high steep romantic mountains clothed with trees the habitation of a numerous variety of birds whose warbling cadence lulled us to rest & in the morning entertained us with their wild heterogeneous concert.

11th. On the 11th. we set out by the dawn of day to put our scheme in execution after leaving orders for the boat to follow us with the returning Tide, we walkd to the head of the Cove which was by no means an easy task, as we were obligd in many places to wade up to our knees in mud & that too without the pleasure of much sport. From thence we went across a low Isthmus of half a mile wide to Hen-Cove where we had no better success. Thus disappointed in our expectations of sport we returnd to the boat much dissatisfied with the scarcity of game & immediately embarkd for the Vessel.

As Captain Cook had left five Geese in this Cove we were in hopes of meeting with some of their offspring & thereby partaking of the fruits of his benevolence, but as they were left in the autumn, I am apprehensive they did not survive the first winter, for not the least traces of any could be seen at this time about the Cove, & though there was a scarcity of other Birds on account of this being the season of incubation, yet it appears to be the most eligible place in the whole Sound for Game at a proper time of the year.

By the progress of vegetation spring seemed to be further advanced here than any other part we had yet visited, yet I met with nothing different in any botanical pursuits from what I had seen before excepting a small species of *Ancistrum* & a *Lobelia*.

12th. Early on the 12th I went with Lientenant Broughton & Mr Johnstone on board the *Discovery* where we were joined by Messrs Mudge & Bader & then set out with an intent to try our luck in Duck Cove & encamp there for the night, but as we went up the Sound with a fair breeze, we passed it, & only made this discovery when we were about six miles beyond it. We then shaped our course for Cooper's Island & found on our way a Shagery in Trees on the Shag Islands, where we killd a few of them with some Parrots, & afterwards went into Sportsmans Cove, an enchanting spot. Here we made a fire, cookd some fish & game & enjoyd a rural repast. While these were getting ready I sauntered

into the wood up the side of a large rivulet, where I found some species of Moss, but nothing else in flower that was new. The wood here was thick, but no wise difficult to penetrate.

In the afternoon we row'd back as far as the Front Islands opposite to Resolution Passage where we encamp'd for the night & after kindling a fire we sat cordially round it & drank the usual toast on saturday night in a hearty bumper of Grog, after which we reclind in the soft moss for a bed under the dense foliage of spreading trees for a covering & enjoyed a refreshing sleep the night remaining mild & calm.

13th. The dawn of the following day mild & serene set us all in motion again, being anxious to get as far as Duck Cove before breakfast. We found this little Island to be inhabited by Wood Hens, which surprisd us not a little as they seem as incapable of swimming as our common domestic fowls & less so of flying, their wings being so small in proportion to their body that we never once observed them to use them.

After rowing to Duck Cove I am sorry to say we met with very little sport, we therefore put ashore at the entrance of it & made fire on a small sandy beach where we cook'd breakfast near the influx of a considerable brook rolling its rapid stream over shelving rocks into the Sea forming a pleasing & beautiful small cataract.

From this place we rowed over to Indian Island to see if we could meet with any of the Natives where they were first seen by Captain Cook, but here we were likewise disappointed, & it may appear singular that we had not yet met with any recent traces of them anywhere in the Sound. From here we were led by the wild & romantic appearance of a beautiful fall of water of some hundred feet perpendicular into Cascade Cove where we met Captain Vancouver & Mr Whidbey in the Pinnace accompanied by a large party of the Midshipmen in the Cutter. They had left the Ship early in the Morning, breakfasted in Pickersgill harbour and dind here before

our arrival. Our first object after landing was to dress some fish & game for our dinner of which we had picked up in the way more than sufficient for our own consumption.

Captain Vancouver now proposed as it was moderate & pleasant weather to visit the furthestmost branch of the Sound, where Capt Cook left off his Survey, in order to obtain some knowledge of its termination. As this expedition might possibly take up some days, we naturally examined our stock of provision, & foresaw we should be at a very short allowance of the most material articles which were bread & liquor, for the rest of our subsistence we could in some measure depend on the produce of the country with the assistance of our guns & fishing tackle. We however set out with the other two boats on this expedition with a fluctuating breeze but for the most part favourable, & leaving *Long Island* on the right, we passed through *Resolution Passage* & entered the North Arm in the dusk of the evening; the wind having here headed us it was late before we rowd about three miles further to reach *Beachy Harbour* where we remained for the night, & the other two boats being somewhat astern & the night very dark, our first object was to make a large fire to denote to them our situation which they soon after found out, & having pitched our tents we found it very necessary to keep a fire burning before each all night as we felt it exceeding cold the mountains near us being covered with snow pretty low down, our greatest comfort was that the weather remained fair & calm.

14th. In the morning of the 14th. we again embarked in our boats & passing on the inside of some Island which lay off the harbour we proceeded up the Arm leaving on our right hand some steep naked precipices & deep chasms with beautiful cataracts of considerable height, which with the romantic wildness of the country had a very picturesque appearance. By nine in the forenoon we reachd the furthest extent of Capt Cook's Survey & landed in a small creek opposite to the third Cove near

the end of his apparent Island where we took some refreshment, after which as the arm here divided into two branches it was agreed to separate & that Capt Vancouver should go up the one to the left with the Discovery's two Boats, & we the other in the Chatham's Cutter, appointing a small Island near where we parted as a place of rendezvous in case we should not meet further up.

That which we examined was about half a mile wide & ran in a winding direction East North East for about 6 miles when it terminated in a low circular valley, backed by a solid ridge of Snowy Mountains from which it received two large streams of fresh water. A little way from the head is another small Valley on the Northern side, faced by a fine sandy beach, the banks of which are broken with the beds of torrents & considerable streams of water running through to their conflux & like the other is backed by lofty Mountains whose steep & craggy sides are adorned with evergreens of different kinds while the summits are enveloped in perpetual snow affording a lively contrast to a wild & romantic scene. The rest of the Arm is bound in on both sides by a rocky shore arising abruptly into steep rugged mountains & in some places overhanging precipices of great elevation.

On returning to the place of rendezvous we found Capt Vancouver & his party waiting our arrival on the small island after having finished the Arm they went up, which they said took a North East direction for about six Miles & then took a short turn round to the westward for about two miles further where it ended in low Marshy Land. Thus proving beyond a doubt what Capt Cook had not time to do, that neither of these branches communicate with any to the Northward and that his apparent Island is only a narrow point of land separating these two small branches & rising steep from the water side to a peaked summit of considerable height.

As the evening was clear & fair we embraced a light favourable breeze down the Arm and reached Sandy

Cove near its entrance before dark, where we soon cleared a very eligible spot for the evening's encampment. After kindling a fire & refreshing ourselves on whatever game & fish the day afforded, we drank a cheerful glass to the memory of Capt Cook whose steps we were now pursuing & as far as we had opportunity to trace them, we could not help reflecting with peculiar pleasure & admiration on the justness of his observations & the accuracy of his delineations throughout every part of the complicated survey of this extensive Sound, where he had left so little for us to finish.

15th. As the weather was now so exceeding fine & we observed it to be generally calm at night, in the morning we set off at a very early hour on the 15th. from Sandy Cove in order to get through Resolution passage before any breeze made against us, & we rowed on without much obstruction to the entrance of Duck Cove about 12 miles in distance where we landed & refreshed ourselves with our last quarter biscuit of bread each, after which Capt Vancouver returned to the ship & we stretchd over to Pickersgill's Harbour to view the spot which the Resolution so snugly occupied about 18 years ago. Here we visited the eminence on which the Observatory was pitchd & attentively searchd for the Garden but could not find the least traces or remains of it, the place facing where the ship lay was indeed clear of large trees but so thickly covered with Brush wood & tall ferns as to hide the mark of the Axe & Saw in their stumps without a diligent examination, so that there is scarcely anything now remaining that would point out the situation to a stranger had it not been so well recorded. We found a note that had been left for us two days before by Capt Vancouver's party & returnd on board in the evening after being out three nights & four days.

16th. In the forenoon of the 16th. I accompanied Lt Puget to Facile Harbour as that neighbourhood seemed more favourable for my researches & after visiting the Chatham & the adjacent shores we went into Ear-shell Cove where we made a fire & erected a temporary

shelter with the Boats sails for the evening.

A considerable rivulet emptied itself into this Cove near which we found the remains of two old huts similar in their structure to those already seen with a number of different kinds of shells scattered round them particularly Earshells.

- 17th. Early next morning I made a short excursion up the side of the Mountains along the course of the Rivulet which I found pretty clear & accessible, & if any attempt is ever made to reach the summits of the mountains in this Country I think the beds of torrents afford the most likely paths for accomplishing it especially in dry seasons.

About breakfast time we were joined by Lt Broughton in his little boat & spent the day agreeably in visiting the places adjacent, for the weather was exceeding fine & favourable for such excursions & it would seem as if Summer had now only commenced in this Country for in the day time we felt it very hot & the flies were become very troublesome. The woods here are well stocked with Parrots, one of them was wounded with a shot in a tree which made such a hideous noise that it brought several others about it from different parts of the wood, but their sympathising condolance provd fatal to about a dozen of them which were shot in a short time without stirring from the foot of the same tree, till at last finding their number decrease so fast the two or three surviving ones went away with a pitiful noise seeming to bemoan the fate of their fellow companions.

In the evening we returned again on board the Discovery & found preparations were now making for leaving the place. I brought with me live plants of the *Wintera aromatica* which were planted in the frame on quarter deck.

- 18th. Early on the 18th. we weighd anchor & the wind being scanty with the assistance of the boats ahead went out of the Harbour but came to again in 38 fathoms water near Parrot Island to wait for fair wind and the Chatham's joining us. After we came to an anchor Lt

Baker was sent with a party of men & three boats to strike the Tent & bring it & the Brewing utensils &c on board. I embracd the same opportunity to bring several live plants among which was the New Zealand Flax plant, with a view if they succeeded in the frame on board to carry them to his Majesty's Gardens.

In the evening a Boat was sent into Facile Harbour where they found the Chatham preparing to come out & join us, which she attempted to do the following day, but the weather proved so boisterous & squally that she was not able to accomplish it & was obliged to put back again.

20th. The appearance of the weather on the 20th was nowise favourable, the Sky to the Southward appeared overcast with a rising bank of dark clouds seeming to portend a gale from that quarter & our situation in that event not being a very eligible one we were induced to run into Facile Harbour where we anchored again in 38 fathoms & for further security steadied the Ship with a Hawser to the trees on shore.

21st. On the 21st Capt Vancouver was employd in Sound- ing the entrance of the Harbour which he found very favourable for anchorage in case a Vessel was necessitated to run in for it in a gale of wind. A boat was likewise employd in watering & another in fishing, the latter was not long gone when she returnd with a sufficient quantity of fish for all the Ship's Company. In the afternoon I went on shore & in a short time shot about a dozen & half of the Poe birds without moving 20 yards from where I landed, these were dressd in a pie next day & they were allowd by all who tasted to be the most delicate & savoury food we had yet used of the produce of this Country.

Before our departure I will here offer some few ob- servations on the Country & its produce.

The Bay is interspersed with numerous Islands & various Inlets, affording an easy access into the Country for about 30 miles, & it is almost everywhere bound in by a rocky indented shore forming in some places over-

hanging precipices of considerable height & for the most part rising by a steep ascent to form exceeding high mountains whose craggy cliffs & dreary precipices are in great measure hidden from the eye of the beholder by a luxuriant covering of verdant woods even from high water mark to at least three fourths of their elevation. The summits of some appear covered with a greenish Turf while others are seen naked barren & rocky apparently elevated beyond the powers of vegetation, & those inland still more remote & lofty are enveloped in perpetual snow, so that a prospect more wild & romantic than the general appearance of this country is seldom to be met with.

On the sides of these Mountains, the soil is a light blackish mould of a soft spongy texture, evidently formed from decayed vegetables, & every where covered with a carpet of Mosses that naturally preserves a warmth & moisture more favourable to the luxuriancy of its produce in many places, than the depth of the soil, but in the bottom of the vallies & on the low land which in a few places stretches out from the foot of the Mountains, the soil is somewhat deeper & is intermixed with a redish friable earth that affords growth & nourishment to a very thick forest of trees & underwood, which would not fail to impede in a considerable degree the progress of cultivation, should a settlement ever be thought of in this remote region, as the clearing & preparing the ground would be a work of immense labor, indeed the only inducement I can at present discover to such a design would be the establishing of a plantation of the New Zealand Flax which grows here spontaneous, & the variety of fine timber with which the country abounds, but these objects may no doubt be obtained to greater advantage in a more northerly situation of the Island, where the climate will be more favourable.

Facile Harbour on account of its easy access is the most eligible part in the whole Bay, as it is found safe & capacious & surrounded with more low land than any other part, at the same time possessing the advantage of

procuring with little trouble every kind of refreshment which the country affords.

The climate appears temperate & healthy though often exposed to the visitation of very strong gales of wind & frequently heavy rains, the natural consequences of a mountainous & woody country. During the latter part of our stay the weather was mild & pleasant, we generally had a gentle breeze of wind from the sea in the daytime & calm at night, & the rise & fall of the Mercury in the Thermometer during the whole period averaged at about 62° of Farenheit's scale, yet it may seem strange that in all our excursions we met with very few plants in flower & only two in seeds, the one was that which has obtained the name of Supple Jack with red berries, & the other apparently a Juniper with white berries. This evidently shows that the Summer was but just set in, & that the year here is markd only by two seasons summer & winter, for the Trees & Shrubs are mostly evergreens & show very little change in their foliage or natural verdure throughout the year.

As this place was found inhabited by several families when Capt Cook was here it may appear singular that we did not meet with any of the Natives in our various excursions. Indeed I am much afraid that his liberality towards them has been in some measure the cause of this apparent depopulation, by affording a pretext for war to a more powerful tribe, ambitious to possess the riches he left them, which in all probability has ended in their total destruction, for if we except the few old huts we saw in & about Facile Harbour, we met with no other traces of them anywhere in the Sound, & these to all appearance were formd only for temporary shelter & bore no marks of being very recently inhabited.

22nd. In the forenoon of the 22nd. I went on shore & shot another parcel of Poe Birds which were found equally good & relishing. The fishing boat likewise returnd successfull, & the wind which was light & fluctuating about two in the afternoon settled at North, with which we both weighd anchor & after running out of the harbour

by a narrow passage hoisted in the boats & made all the sail we could out of the Bay to gain a good offing before dark, which by six in the evening we so far effected that the West Cape of New Zealand bore East of us four Leagues, & as it was intended to go round the South end of the Island we now shaped a south course, with all the Sail which a strong gale from the North West suffered us to make. This gale continued augmenting in its course till it increased to a most violent storm attended with dark hazy weather heavy rain & boisterous sea which broke incessantly over us & kept us wet and uncomfortable the whole night.

23rd. The following morning brought no alleviation to our hopes, on the contrary the dawn ushered in with the redoubled fury of a storm that had now reduced us to our foresail & obliged us to scud before it as our only expedient for safety.

At this time we were not a little alarmed at the sudden report of seven feet water in the Hold. The chain pumps were immediately set a going for the first time since we left England & all hands stood by to take their spell, when it was soon found to our great satisfaction that we gained upon it & in a short time pumped all out.

As the day advanced we discovered we were separated from our Consort the Chatham, for she was not to be seen any where within our horizon from the Mast head.

In the forenoon the gale abated & the weather, which was still dark & gloomy became more moderate so that we were able to make Sail again. In some part of this Storm the Barometer was again so low as 29.20. At eleven we saw land about five leagues to the Eastward of us. At this time we had vast flights of Blue Petrels, some Albatrosses & a few Pintadoe Birds about us & at noon the observed Latitude was 48° 6' South when the above Land bore N 60 E. which we now found to be a cluster of seemingly barren Islands & peaked insulated rocks consisting of about 7 or 8 in number & ranging nearly East & West

about nine miles in extent; the largest is near the East end of the group & may be about two leagues in circumference, & of a Height sufficient to be seen in clear weather eight or nine leagues off. As these were now considered a new discovery, they were called *the Snares*; a name sufficiently applicable to their lurking situation & appearance, & will we hope induce any vessel bound this way to give them a good berth. They are situated in the Latitude of $48^{\circ} 3' S$ and in the Longitude of $166^{\circ} 20'$ East of Greenwich, so that no part of Capt Cook's tract will be found within ten leagues of them, which will sufficiently account for his not seeing them when he passed round this end of New Zealand. We bore up on the outside of them at the distance of about six Miles, but it was so hazy that we could not distinguish any signs of vegetation upon them, nor is it probable from their appearance there was any except upon the largest — they appeared however to afford secure & inaccessible retreats to vast numbers of Oceanic Birds Seals & Penguins with which we were now surrounded.

In the afternoon the breeze still continued fresh & the weather dark & cloudy. At four the Snares bore N. 30 W. six leagues off. From this time we pursued an easterly course for 25 leagues to shun the Traps, a shoal & sunken rocks which lay off the South point of New Zealand.

APPENDIX D.

LOG OF THE BRITANNIA.

Copied from the original in the Essex Institute, Salem, Mass.
U.S.A. by the Author.

Journal
of a Voyage
From England to Port Jackson, New So. Wales,
in the Years 1792, 1793, 1794 & 1795,
in the Ship
Britannia Mr W. Raven, Commr.
by Rd. Murray.

In Sydney Cove, Port Jackson, New So. Wales,
July 27th [1792.]

Sept. 8th. the ship was hauled out of the cove—and on the 10th we worked her down to Bradley's Pt where we anchored, wind bound.—during our stay here, we were chartered by 10 Officers of the Civil and Military, to proceed to the Cape of Good Hope, by way of Cape Horn and Sta Catherina, leave being granted us, to stop on our way at Duskey Bay in New Zealand, to leave a number of hands to collect seal skins for the China Market while we performed our voyage.

November 3rd, 1792.

At 2 A.M. we made the snowy summits of New Zealand bearing E/2 n, 15 or 16 miles distant. We continued to stand on untill 3, when we tacked and stood off 'till 5—at which time we put about and made sail for the Land; at seven it began to blow very hard, and rained excessive heavy, which

obliged us to shorten sail and haul off: The entrance of Duskey Bay then bore N.E. and the So. pt. E.S.E. about 6 Leags from us. At noon Pt. 5 fingers bore N.E. 13 or 14 miles.

Sunday, 4th.

The wind, this afternoon, abated greatly, but the weather became thick and hazy; which did not prevent us from using our utmost efforts to gain the bay, but they proved ineffectual; for at 4 it fell calm and the swell set us directly in for the Land the greatest supposed distance of which was not more than 2 miles; however, at 5 P.M. we got a light air from the Southward with which we stood out to sea. In the evening the wind freshened, and grew squally. At 7 the entrance of the Bay bore N.E. and Cape W. E.N.E., with these bearings we had a remarkable white cliff, to the South of Cape West bearing E.S.E. $\frac{1}{4}$ S. At 2 in the morning it moderated, when we tacked, made sail, and stood on. We kept plying to windward, in order to gain the bay; but at noon it blew so strong from the N.E. that we again were under the necessity of hauling to the westwd. At noon Anchor Id. N.E. b E. 5 miles.

Monday 5th.

It continued blowing very strong, and we had to encounter an irregular sea; at 4 P.M. we reefed the Foresail. 12 it moderated, made sail, tack'd, and stood to the eastward. 3 A.M. the wind was excessive strong and came in heavy squalls, we handed the topsails. Six A.M. it was moderate weather and the wind came round from the N.E. to WnW.; we then made sail at noon the white cliff bore Et. distant 6 miles. Our Latd. obsd. 45 56 S.

Tuesday 6th.

There were but little hopes, at present, of getting into Port, for we had an incessant rain, with heavy squalls at N.E., and found it necessary, at 2 P.M. to strike Top Gt. masts. At 4 we had less wind, we then made sail in shore, at 8 we tacked to the westward, and at midnight stood in for the Land. At 1 a breeze blew from the WnW. when we shaped our course for the bay. 4 we made more sail, and steered for pt. 5 Fingers; which at this time bore N.E. the distance 5 or 6 Le. We had a thick rainy morning, so much so, that it was

with difficulty we cou'd keep sight of Pt. 5 fingers, which at 9 we passed, and at 10 moored in the No Cove of Facile Harbour in five fathoms.

7th.

After having secured the ship and dined, Capt. Raven went to look at the other parts of the Harbour, and at some of the adjacent Coves. At the head of Commorant Cove is an awful Cascade, which rolls down in very heavy torrents from the mountains, thither they went and shot several ducks. At 6 in the evening they returned on board. Early in the morning he went with the boats to examine the Seal Islands, and found the weather so boisterous that he could not explore them equal to his desire.

8th.

About three P.M. we made the best of our way for Pickersgill Harbour which we reached at 5, and pulled up a small creek, at the head of which is a run of fine water on the starboard side, going into the creek there is a point of land that appears to have been the spot upon which Mr. Wales had his observatory. We found several trees down, which were on the ground, they were on the outside entirely rotten; and in the heart, decayed, tho' hard, there being any part good is a proof that the wood is of great durability. It has lain since the early part of the year 1773. We found some stumps of trees, which appear to have been newly cut down. After dining we pull'd for the ship, and got on board about 7 in the Evening.

Friday Nov. 9, 1792.

In the morning the Chief Mate went to the Seal Ids. the Carpenter was well empd. in falling trees for Spars and plank for the Ships use. This afternoon I went with Capt. Raven to get some altitudes for the Time Keeper, to a bight which lies on the Starbd. side of the entrance of the Cove; We found a considerable spot cleared of trees which had been recently felled. In the evening the mate returned and gave a very good account of the Islands. In the morning the Mates went again to the Seal Isles. At 8 A.M. it came on to rain very heavily which continued until the conclusion of the twenty-four hours.

Saturday 10th.

In the evening the mates returned from the Seal Islands and gave Capt. Raven so good an account of them that It henceforth was determined to leave a party here to collect Skins for the China Market.

Sunday 11th.

The weather was very moderate, with a fine breeze from the Southward, we were employed occasionally. In the morning it rained hard, and was attended by the heaviest gusts of wind, from the mountains, I ever recollect to have felt, which put a stop to our different operations.

Monday 12.

At one P.M. it fell calm. We weighed our Stream anchor and moored with the two Bowers. In the morning we set out for Breaksea Island, on our passage we pull'd to the head of Duck Cove, where we breakfasted. I saw only two Ducks who both took wing immediately on the approach of the boat. After leaving the Cove we made the best of our way for Breaksea; but the wind blew right in our teeth, and it rained hard, so that we did not get on equal to our wishes.

Tuesday 13th.

At two we put into a Cove, made a large fire, dined, and then proceeded. As we were pulling up the arm, and had nearly opened the sea-gates we saw a smoke on our left, in pulling in for it, I saw a small hut, at a small distance from the edge of the water, at this moment one of our people made a noise, which roused the inhabitants, who issued from their abode and took to the woods. We landed, and found the hut, had been newly erected, every part of the materials, of which it was constructed were green; particularly the roof, which was covered, with the leaves of the Flax plant. A fire was at the entrance and within there lay some mats; these appeared to be their bed. Capt Raven left an Axe & two knives, upon a log of wood, near the Dwelling place, he laid a small green branch upon the things, and left them, expecting they would return, but in this, was disappointed.

We got to Breaksea Isld. in the evening and there saw great numbers of seals. We made the best of our way back for the cove, where we had dined: we arrived late, but the fire

was alight, which we soon increased to a large one, and made a very good supper of mussells and biscuit. It rained hard untill day break, we then departed, and arrived on board the ship at seven in the morning, it was fair weather all this forenoon and we were empd. cutting wood, spars & plank for the Ship.

Wednesday 14th.

The afternoon continued fair and the people were empd. as before mentd. at 6 A.M. the Capt, & party set off for Luncheon Cove to build an house for the Sealing party.

Thursday 15.

Empd. as above, the Captain's gang returned at 7 P. M. and set off early the following morning.

From this time untill Saturday, Dec. 1st, we were employed building the dwelling and another house and getting the Ship ready for Sea. On this day we unmoored, weighed and warped the ship out of the North Cove, soon after it fell calm, we therefore anchored in 16 fms, under a small Island. After dinner the Captn. took his last trip to Luncheon Cove, and we, during his absence, having a light breeze from the Nd. weighed, and made sail out of Facile Harbour.

What we in the following days work. supposed to be a shoal, we afterwards found from our peoples information, was the Shock of an Earthquake, it was felt in a more violent manner by the people at the House, its being felt in the boat strengthens the supposition.

Sunday Decr. 2, 1792.

2 P.M. we got underway and made sail out of Facile Harbour when in the Sound we saw the boat coming toward us. brot. too untill she came on board, just as the Capt. was on deck the ship having very little headway touched upon a rock or shoal, but so lightly as to be hardly perceived, the other boat in which was the mate, just came up and they said a tremor similar to what we had felt had but that inst. been felt in the boat. What this may arise from it is hard to conjecture, there was a considerable swell setting in to the bay— if this had been a shoal we must have felt it more sensibly than we did—the ship instead of striking as on a rock—

trembled to a violent degree—this water looked as in deep water.

N.B. Five Fingers pt. 45. 42 S. 166 Pt. 9.

3rd. 4 P.M. Saw Land. S.E. $1\frac{1}{4}$ I 8 or 9 L. 8 P.M. the Isles which we suppose to be a new discovery bore from E b S b S.E. to E. Dist. 5 Leagues. We called them Sunday they are in Lattd. 48.7 S. Long. 166 20' E. not a tree to be seen on them, the height of the northern one about as high as the Lizard.

The same Isles were seen by Capt. Vancouver H.M.S. Discovery, prior to discovery, he named them the Snares and makes their Long. the same as us, but differ'd to us in Latt.

[This paragraph was inserted in the log at a later date; the writing itself when examined shows it. This ends the first visit of the Britannia to Dusky.

On the return of the Britannia from the Cape of Good Hope to Sydney the log is again taken up, on 25th June, 1793, when her captain is helping to launch the Francis which was afterwards to accompany her to Dusky, to relieve the sealing gang left there as described above. The Author.]

June 25, 1793.

During our stay at Port Jackson we have been employed delivering the cargo and rigging and refitting the ship.

A schooner which had been on the stocks a long time, was now ready to launch, and the whole strength of the colony being insufficient, the Comr. of the Britannia was ordered to compass this mighty point, we therefore slipped our cable and warped over to the Hospital Wharf, where we made the ship fast, wove a luff takle purchase and hove her off at highwater. She was called the Francis, in honor of the Major's Son. — and his honor, gave the ships company an hog of 232 lbs. weight for the trouble they had been at with her. Captn. Raven was then ordered to superintend the fitting her for sea which he did, and when he gave his report of her readiness, &c, he was ordered to take her under his care to Duskey Bay; in New Zealand, to send by her, accts. of the productions of that country, from New Zealand he was ordered to proceed to Calcutta for a cargo of Salt provisions for the

use of the Colony — and was allowed 14/6 pr Ton pr Month for 300 Tons.—untill he arrived at Port Jackson again.

Sept. 7 1793.

6 a.m. Unmoored weighed and made sail. Empd running down the Harbour—the Francis in company."

[Table taken from the Log, from 8th. to 24th. September, 1793, showing the daily position of the Britannia with comments upon the Francis. The lat. is in all cases S. and long. E. The Author.]

Lat. 35° 12'	Long. 153° 10'	8th. "Francis in Company."
34° 42'	153° 10'	9th.
34° 7'	154° 35'	10th. "The Schooner in company."
		11th. "At dawn the francis could only be seen from the mast head, veered to westwd. Noon bore up and ran to leward to join the schooner.
34° 35'	155° 50'	12th
36° 7'	157° 22'	13th. "Francis in company."
37° 47'	158° 18'	14th. "Francis astern."
38° 7'	159° 16'	15th. "Schooner in company."
38°	159° 36'	16th. "Francis in company."
40° 37'	160° 40'	17th. "Francis in company."
42° 3'	161° 17'	18th. "Schooner in company."
42° 37'	161° 17'	19th. "Francis in company."
43° 48'	162° 3'	20th. "Shortened sail for the schooner."
45° 38'	163° 15'	21st. "Francis in company."
45° 49'	165° 43'	22nd. "Francis astern."
45° 49'	165° 48'	23rd. "4 P.M. Sch to Westwd "5 P.M. the schooner was about 3 miles to leward—veered to join her—8 p.m. no sight of the schooner."
46° 17'	165° 48'	24th. "The schooner was not seen from the Masthead."

The log then proceeds:—

23rd.

7 A.M. saw the land E.N.E. 7 or 8 L. Bearing etc.
at noon So. pt. Duskey Bay NE 5 L.

24th.

In topsails and reefed the foresail.

No land in sight.

Sept 25th, 1793.

Furled the foresail and brot. too under bare poles.

Shipped many very heavy seas.

26th.

Set the foresail and close reefed topsails.

Saw Cape Wt. N N E 10 Leagues.

27th.

4 P.M. the So Extr. of Duskey Bay N.E. 7 or 8 Legs.

5 A.M. Pt. five fingers E N E 6 Ls.

10 A.M. we were off Pt. Five Fingers, we then fired six Guns. We kept standing on for Anchor Island Harbour, and we were impatiently looking out for the boat, which at 11 we saw pulling round the So. pt. of Anchor Isld. at Noon brot up in Anchor Isld Harbor.—Mr. Leith and five others came on board—who informed us that all the rest were well—which gave us no small satisfaction.

Remarks &c. Duskey Bay New Zealand.

Soon after furling the sails—The Captain went with Mr. Leith to Luncheon Cove, in the evening they returned to Supper, not an individual was left at the dwelling place, we had killed a Goat (the only remainder of our live stock) on the occasion, and I will venture to assert that a more pleasant sensation than this afforded had never been felt by any of the persons who composed this entertainment.

28th. Sept. to Oct. 29th. 1793.

The informations we received were not equal to our expectations but the satisfactory intelligence, of their safety exceeded them, they had now been Ten Months on a Desolate (and to them) and an Uninhabited Island, without communication of any sort; and without any kind of refreshment than what we left them. They had built a

Vessel of Sixty or Seventy Tons and had proceeded so far in her as to have been able to have left the place in 3 Months from the time of our arrival. Circumstances however prevented us from carrying this into execution, the time limited us by our Charter to stay at Duskey Bay was 14 Days, beyond that time we were not to be considered in the service of Government nor should we receive Pay until the time of our departure if we exceeded it. It therefore became necessary to prepare for an early departure. The following Morning was accordingly spent in getting a part of the Stores &c. which we had left, with a quantity of Plank intended for the Ships Decks, they being in a wretched condition. We found the weather in general unfavourable for our purpose, blowing chiefly very hard from the Nod, and being attended with very heavy rains.

Every opportunity was made use of for getting on board the above mentioned articles, which was done, the rigging repaired and every necessary completed on Wednesday October 9th. and on Thursday we unmored and warped out of the Harbour into an Inlet between One of the Parrot Islands and the Pt. of Anchor Island, we found the swell setting very heavily into the Bay and so little wind that attempting to get was impossible. We got 3 or 4 boats load of wood and spent the remainder of the day, which was a fine one, in pleasant excursion.

11. This morning we had a light breeze at S.S.E., we immediately weighed and stood up the Sound—we now found the wind increase and the swell setting so violently into the Bay that the Ship would not work, we bore up and run into Facile Harbour in the North Cove of which we anchored in the afternoon.

12. Employed scraping and greasing the Masts—One Boat with Cns Raven and Nepean set off on a party to Goose Cove. I went with them, we arrived in the entrance at about 10 A.M. The weather was very unfavourable blowing heavily from the Southward. We landed on the beach opposite to a sandy low point which runs off a considerable distance from the Shore. The purpose of our landing was to look at a hutt which we saw from the Boat. It was built about 10 yards from the

High Water mark—in the entrance of the Woods. The materials of which it was constructed were chiefly the Flax plant and a few sticks stuck in an upright position, it appeared nearly circular, but wanted a segment of $\frac{1}{3}$ of its circumference which was the entrance, a man might sit upright, but I think it impossible for one to stand upright in it. They must creep on all fours to enter it, and a family of 5 or 6 persons must lie very warm, the whole reminds me of necessary buildings I have seen at Port Jackson built by the Convicts and designed for the accommodation of a Sow and a litter of Pigs, with the Shelter they receive (for neither land nor Sea wind can reach them) they may serve the purpose to those whom Nature has destined to endure those hardships which to them seem trifles, but to a European unused to the scenes would be astonishing. No inhabitant was seen nor had any been in it some time. Our People had once visited this Cove since our leaving them when they had seen a fire in the hut but the Natives had fled before their approach, every inducement of theirs had been found insufficient to persuade them to return to the habitation before they departed. They had left a few nails and other baubles which they found afterwards untouched, the Natives had left their Habitation in consequence of this discovery of theirs. We found that all the Huts in Goose Cove and those at the Head of it and in Wood Hen Cove were deserted. At the Head of Goose Cove we found Celery and some Ducks but they had now become so shy that on the approach of the Boat they immediately took flight. We shot about 6—the last of which was a Painted one, it had 10 Ducklings, with a great deal of trouble they caught 6 of them, 2 were killed in catching, and the other four were taken on Board, where, notwithstanding every care was taken to preserve them; they died in a week—The Mother being shot. It was with great difficulty we were able to pull the boat ahead round the point which we at last accomplished and in the Evening returned on Board.

Nothing has been said of the Schooner, which from the inclemency of the weather both when she parted and since that time, we all concluded was lost. A very odd circumstance occurred which gave us the greatest and the most

pleasant surprise. It happened that the last Boat when was at Luncheon had forgot a Cat which was out of the House. A boat was now sent to fetch that Cat, in her I went, and on pulling into the entrance we saw to our surprise the Schooner at anchor—we learned that she had arrived on the day before—after having been driven to leeward as far as the Sundays Islands, supposed to have been discov. in our last voyage.

She now wanted every assistancc, they had not been able to make her stay—she wanted repairs which they were unable to give her, and without which it would have been impossible to have ventured to Sea again. We returned on board in the evening, and 2 Boats were dispatched to bring her to Facile Harbour where she arrived the day after. We were now all hands empd. in wooding and watering her. The Carpenters were empd. in making a Bowsprit and repairing her rudder & Sawyers were cutting plank for her. On Sunday 20th. of October we had completely fitted her to proceed on her voyage. We got uuder way and made sail out of the Sound with the Francis in Company. After a stay of 1 Mo. more than we were directed by Charter Party for which the reasons were given that detained us.

(Remarks) 21st Oct. 1793.

Hoisted our Colours and parted Company with the Francis.

Made and shortened sail occasionally.

Swell from N.N.W.

APPENDIX E.

LOG OF THE ENDEAVOUR.

Kept by Mr Robert Murray fourth officer while at Dusky Sound, 1795, copied from the original in the Essex Institute, Salem, Mass., U.S.A., by the Author.

[The vessels Britannia (Raven) and Endeavour (Bampton) are lying near one another in Sydney Cove, Port Jackson, when this portion of the log commences. The Author.]

On June 2d Capt. Raven asked me, if I should wish to go with Captain B as fourth Officer. I told him I should not wish to leave him until he returned to England. He wished me to embrace the opportunity adding,—“I know pretty well from a short acquaintance whether a man is possessed of any stock of sensibility, my acquaintance convinces me that Capt. Bampton is a Gentleman with whom I can trust you, he has promised to take care of you, to protect you, and while you continue to deserve I am confident, will be your friend. I know your nature so much as to be convinced that you feel some regret at leaving me, but you must in this case, consider yourself. If you return to England your friends at most cannot raise you higher than this in an Indiaman, that trade is now at an ebb, and India is, I think the best place in which, under such a Commander as Ct. B. You must meet preferment.” Such was the advice I received from this truly good and generous man. I did not hesitate long in determining; the day following he introduced me to Cn. B. as the Young Man he committed to his care and protection, there was something so solemn in this introduction, that I am sure I was considerably abashed — and knew not how to make a reply to Capt. Bampton’s generous offer, and assurance that he would

take care of me. Some persons who read this may wonder at my suffering myself to be thus (in a manner) delivered up, if they do, it will be a proof that their share of sense is but inconsiderable and would, did they conceive my situation of mind think I had done right.

Soon after (on the 6th. June) I went round to the River Hawkesburg with a party of 20 Lascars for the purpose of cutting timber for the Endeavour, my passage was very unpleasant, it rained hard the greatest part of the time, and I had a very bad boat's crew so that I did not get on equal to my wish.

When I arrived, I found that the timber did not run near so large here, as at the parts adjacent to Sydney in Port Jackson. I therefore wrote to Captn. B. and informed him, and he directly sent an order for my immediate return, I directly dispatched the Sawyers and Sea Cunny. On the next day I sent the Lascars, I was obliged to pay a man 5 Shillings to conduct them in their road; and thinking that they would not fatigue themselves with walking, I deferred going myself until the second day after, when I started with Mr. W. Baker the Superintendent, and arrived at Sydney at 8 in the evening, after the most fatiguing walk I ever experienced.

On the morning following I went on board the ship and commenced my duty as the Fourth or Junior Officer, I was employed in the ship's hold delivering Rice & Dholl for the use of His Majesty's Colony.

Having no accommodation, I slept on shore at Mr. Smiths, the Store Keeper, the character of that Gentleman is so well known by persons who visit Port Jackson, that any tribute I could pay would be superfluous.

To the Officers of the Ship, especially Mr. Weathrall, I am much indebted for the very great attention they paid me, on entering into their society, as it soften in a great degree, my extreme regret at parting from my late worthy Commander and his Officers.

Remarks &c Sep. 17, 1795.

[Omitting tabular matter, and giving latitude and longitude each day. The Author.]

Lying moored below Garden Island 12 fms. — Mud.

Wind N.N.E & variable with rain.

A.M. Wind and Weather.—Fancy, brig, at anchor astern.

Noon Calm & Cloudy.

18.

3 P.M. we had a squall of rain — which was followed by a fresh Gale at West and clear Wn. $\frac{1}{2}$ past 3 P.M. the Pilot came on board.

N.B. pt. Five Fingers Duskey Bay. Latt. $45^{\circ} 42'$ So $166^{\circ} 9'$ East.

Pt. Jackson entrance $33^{\circ} 56'$. Long. $151^{\circ} 30'$ Et.

7 A.M. unmoored weighed and sailed out of the Harbour, in company with the Fancy, Brig Commanded by Capt. E. T. Dell.

Noon entrance of Pt. Jackson bore W.N.W. 8. Leagues.

Lat. $34^{\circ} 2' S$. Long. $151^{\circ} 31'$

19th.

We this evening found, that; in spite of all our vigilance, upwards of 40 Men and 1 Woman had found means to secret themselves in the ship,— and had escaped the search.

Up top Gallt Yards. Set T.G. Sails.

Latitude $34^{\circ} 23' S$ Long. $152^{\circ} 22'$.

20th. Sep. 1795.

I did yesterday sign a paper which I will not swear to on a future occasion; it was concerning the prisoners there mentioned.

An high swell from the Sod. caused the ship to roll much.

The Fancy in company.

Lat. $34^{\circ} 16'$ Long. $153^{\circ} 12'$

21st. Sept.

Of the convicts mentioned on b. 4 are Carpenters, this may look as if we had concealed them but I am certain it was not the case.

The Fancy ahead.

Lat. $34^{\circ} 10'$. Long. $153^{\circ} 42'$.

22nd.

Lon: at 1 P.M. Lunars $155^{\circ} 48'$ Et.

Lat. $34^{\circ} 32'$ Long. $155^{\circ} 34'$.

23d Sep. 1795.

Made a signal for the Fancy to haul up & join us.

Shortened sail for the Fancy.

Set the Mainsail & Driver.

158 6 Lunar. Bearing & distance Five Fingers Pt.
Duskey B. S. 36 E.

Lat. $36^{\circ} 49'$ Long. $157^{\circ} 32'$

Sept. 24th.

Struck top Gallt Yards & Masts. Close Rft. topsails.

An high following sea.

The Fancy in company.

Noon Pt. 5 Fingers bore S $33^{\circ} 21'$ distant $15 \frac{1}{3}$ Leags.

Lat. $39^{\circ} 23'$ Long. $160^{\circ} 30'$.

25th.

Fancy in company.

Out reefs.

Noon Pt five fingers S $31^{\circ} 35'$ Et $96 \frac{1}{3}$ Ls

Lat. $41^{\circ} 36'$ Long. $162^{\circ} 40'$

26th. Sep. 1795.

Fancy in company. Bearing & distance at Noon Pt. Five
Fingers S $29^{\circ} 50'$ Et. 60 Leagues.

Lat. $43^{\circ} 6'$ Long. $164^{\circ} 4'$.

27th.

The Fancy in company.

Lat. $43^{\circ} 34'$ Lon. 164° .

28th.

Lat. $43^{\circ} 28'$ Long. $164^{\circ} 17'$

29th. September 1795.

A long S.E. swell.

The Brig in company.

Noon made the signal for the Fancy to alter the course
steered one point to Port.

Fancy ahead.

Set the Mainsail.

Hauled the mainsail up for the Brig to come up with us.

Lat. $43^{\circ} 56'$ Long. $164^{\circ} 29'$

30th.

Lat. 45° Lon. $165^{\circ} 9'$

October 1st.

Fancy a long dist. to Windward.

Lat. $45^{\circ} 53'$

October 2nd, 1795.

At 2 P.M. in a squall we carried away the fore Yard in the slings unbent the sail and got it down. Clued up. Furled the Fore & Mizzen topsails. In mainsail.

Down top Gallant Mast.

Brot. too.

Empd. making a fore Yard out of a sheer Mast.

Lat. 46° 1'.

3rd Oct.

The wind continues as fresh as before from the Northward. We veered at 1 P.M. and made all the sail we were able. In the evening we had the fore Yard replaced and the foresail set. At 9 P.M. we set the Fore topsail — and at 12 handed it again.

In the morning it blew excessive hard, we were employed all hands at the Pumps, the ship having made much water by working.

A heavy and confused sea.

Lat. 46° .

Sunday. 4th.

The pumps going constantly the whole 24 hours. All hands employed stowing the anchors In board to ease the ship forward.

In the morning the Jib boom and Spritsail Yard were got in for the same purpose.

Strong Gales from the Northward.

Lat. 47° 18'

Monday the fifth.

Strong gales with cloudy weather. The ship still continuing to work very much, — always one, at times, two Pumps going.

Latt South.

[Latitude and longitude not given, and no more entries until the 12th. The Author.]

Transactions, Remarks &c on board the Endeavour at Duskey Bay, New Zealand.

1795

On the morning of this day I attended

October 12th. Captains. Bampton and Dell to Luncheon

Saturday. Cove with an intent of seeing the vessel

which Capt. Raven's People had built and left there; we arrived at about 9 o'clock and landed at the wharf, which was still standing, but was knocked off the posts which supported it, by the carelessness of the boats crew; we caught a few fish in the entrance of the cove, which we fried, and ate in the house; we afterwards looked at the vessel and I was a little vexed to hear them express a dislike to almost every part of her.

We found in the house, which had, thro' violence of the weather lost a part of its thatch; a number of Casks, among which, was four which appeared full, one also was half full of salt. The Try pot* and steam were as they were left. The plank which had covered the vessell and drying house, had a part blown off, but was sound, and well seasoned. Some of the planks of ye vessell had shrunk and a plank or two on the bows at the wooden ends had rent. We set off for the Seal Islands at 11 and kill'd 15 Seals. We returned in the evening on board.

Sunday, 13th. In the morning we hoisted the long boat out. We were called into the cabin in consequence of a letter which Mr. Bowell had written to Captain Bampton which Capt. Bampton read to us; it requested leave to resign the birth he fill'd of Chief Officer; the Captn. would not consent to a discharge but consented to his resigning his Office which he appointed Mr. Waine to fill. Mr. Weathrall 2nd Officer and Myself third. We were employed sending empty Casks from the fore hold to send on shore.

Monday 14th. The day was very very well occupied in heaving the ballast out, the weather of this day has been warm and clear, which has been the case since we have been here. Mr. Weathrall with the whole of the Europeans were employed on shore, felling timber for building a store house; on a stoney beach opposite to where the ship lay, and where the Britannia had wooded in 1793.

The Captain with Captain Dell set out on a party to

* An Iron boiler of 84 gallons.

Pickersgile Harbour. Mr Arms went with Mr Bowell to the Seal Islands.

- 15th. We were employed as before, at 8 in the evening the Captain returned from Pickersgile Harbour, he had shot two Redbills and a Duck — and had caught some fish — and appeared very well pleased with the excursion. Messrs Bowell and Arms returned soon after with a few fish, they had not kill'd any Seals, being unused to the sport. In the morning we were employed getting plank and sundry other articles on shore. From what I have seen, this day, of the condition of the ship I think it will be unsafe, attempting to proceed in her to India. This day has been cloudy, in the night only we had heavy rain. Mr Arms went to Commorant Cove and shot about a dozen & a half of wild fowl among which was four painted Ducks.
- 16th. This day has exceeded, in warmth, and pleasantness, all I ever before saw, In Duskey Bay; We have been employed in sending on shore plank, Gun Carriages, & Empty Casks. Mr. Arms went to haul the seine in Goose Cove and returned without a fish. The mess party had good success. Mr Weathrall and party on shore building a storehouse.
17. We have this day had frequent flurries from the Valley, the sky has been clear and the weather pleasant. We were employed sending plank &c on shore.
- 18th. The night rainy and the succeeding morning cloudy, the forenoon was, however, clear & serene; We were obliged to muster all hands, and threaten to turn them ashore, they, having, of late been rather backward in the discharge of their Duty. The greater part of the day was expended in sending on shore the Guns; the remaining part starting some water from the after hole.
- 19th. This day began with fine weather, in the night we had rain and cloudy wr. in the morning, we got the remainder of the Guns out, two of which were lost by the upsetting of raft. Two anchors were also sent on shore. I forgot to mention that on Thursday last the Carpenter—in below at the breasthooks, prized the lower one 2 inches with his

axe—a proof of the very decayed situation of the ship at that part.

Sunday 20. Cloudy weather succeeded by pleasant and clear.

In the morning we were getting out the bowsprit, we were also desired to survey the ship, the following persons were present. Viz: Mr. E. T. Dell, Commander of the *Fancy*, Snow; Messrs. Dennison & Fell his First & 2nd Officers. Mr. Wm. Bowell, passenger, Mr. Arms Do Messrs Waine & Weathrall and myself attended by the Carpenters of both vessels.

The condition we found her in, justifies what has before been said, from ocular demonstration we found, that, all the breast hooks were loose, they were on the spot prized very easily up with a Crow. Of the lower one the bolts had worked 2 inches out. Her stern was entirely decayed, and the remaining parts, as timbers, plank & lining in so bad a condition that we think it a miracle she held together in the bad weather we experienced.

I afterwards went with the crew of the Pinnace, to cut flax to thatch the House, there being but small quantities and that scattered so wide and obviously that we got but little.

Sunday. After dinner, I took the boat to the head of the Cove in hopes of finding better success, but with little effect to compensate the loss. I went to look at the place, where we, in our last voyage in the *Britannia*, saw a great fall of water; and which, I had some curiosity to see; it was now perfectly dry, about 10 yards up the valley, I heard a very loud noise seeming to proceed from a considerable cascade, I followed it and found it came from a subterranean passage under a rock which had only one opening, thro which I crept, the hole I was in was dark. I heard the water still louder, but saw none, it appeared, by the particular hollow sound to be at some distance below me, it is rather remarkable, that though I travelled about 150 Yds. to see if I could discover its source, or the opening into this subterranean passage, I found none.

Monday 21st. Cloudy weather without rain. Empd. getting up sheers for the Foremast; I hinted to Ct Bampton the difficulty of getting flax for thatch and he desired me to rig the Long Boat to get the plank which is cut at Luncheon Cove. This has empd me the greater part of this day.

Tuesday 22nd. At 6 in the morning I set off for Luncheon Cove and arrived at about 10. We loaded the boat, & Cooked some Victuals for the People, we then set off for the Ship, where we arrived at 5 in the evening, the foremast was out & sheers shifted for the Main Mast. The weather all this day has been foggy, a light air from the S.S.W.

Wednesday 23. Very pleasant weather. We this morning discovered that some rascals had broke open the tank in which the Rice was kept, and had stolen a considerable quantity. Instant search was made for obtaining the knowledge of persons so void of sense and honesty, a quantity of rice was found in the possession of Thomas Beadle (one of those whom Capt. Bampton had given a passage) which had been stolen by Carey (a soldier deserted and who had secreted himself in the ship) and, as both were evidently guilty, Cn. B. delivered them to be punished by the people on shore which was done. It is a common maxim I have adopted, of thinking, that, an Idle worthless fellow is scarcely, if ever, honest, in this, as in all similar cases I daily see it verified.

What we have most to regret is, that our own People are guilty, as well as the Sydrians, several of the Steersmen* having been seen in the act, we have not, however, as yet, been able to catch them; or they would have been severely punished. If they steal, we cannot expect anything else of the others, who have daily examples set them, by those persons who ought, and it must be supposed, would, endeavour to detect others, in the commission of crimes so much to the prejudice of the whole.

* Seamen appropriated to the uses only of steering, stowing, and repairing the ship sails.

We sent all our rice, Dhole, Arms & Ammunition on board the Fancy. The remainder of the day we were empd. unrigging & getting out the Main Mast.

Thursday 24th. The day began with a thick haze and light airs from N.N.W. at 8 A.M. I set off with the long boat for a dozen casks of water, the falls about Facile Harbour being dry, I went to Earshell Cove, and fill'd the casks at a place where the water runs from a rock; and where, it appears to be a continual stream. On our return the wind freshened and blew so hard that with twelve butts of water, I could hardly carry the whole sails, we kept them, however, up until we had the misfortune to carry away the bowsprit & Gaff at once; it was with great difficulty we were able to fetch boat passage; which, however, we effected and at three in the afternoon arrived on board. The Mizzen Mast had been got out & the sheers down. I this day signed 3 papers concerning the condition & survey of the Ship.

Friday 25th. Cloudy weather throughout; Employed getting the two New Cables on shore. In the afternoon we unmoored the ship, and sent one long boat-load of rigging on shore.

Saturday 26th. In the morning, cloudy with showers of rain. At 6 I took the Pinnance & 4 men to look for an empty Bbl. which had drifted from the house on shore, on my way I saw two brace of Ducks, they were so tame as to let the boat row almost on them; one of them I struck with the boat's tiller, but not hard enough to disable him, they still kept swimming ahead of the boat, and I regretted I had no Gun. We found the Cask on one of the Parrot Islands full of water. Employed sending ballast from the Main and after hatch ways. Our boat has daily been sent to fish with a man from each mess, and they have very seldom caught less than a fish a man for this whole Ships Company.

1795. Sunday 27th. Very disagreeable day, as was the preceding night. At 2 in the morning, the ship struck against a rock which caused her to [*indistinct*] considerably. At 8 A.M. we sounded on it, and had $1/2$ $1/4$ less

2 and 2 fms. in different parts; it seems to join to that on which the Britannia lay in 1793. The first opportunity I have, I will make a sketch of the Cove. The morning was occupied in shifting our birth and the afternoon getting ballast out. The wind which has blown in heavy gusts, has varied from W. N. W. to NE.

Monday 28th. As disagreeable as the day which proceeded it; rain & wind. It was found necessary for Cn Bampton a second time, to assure the people, as his last and fixed resolution, that they who had refused, to assist in the necessary duty of the Ship, should receive no assistance from him; this, accompanied with a reproof, and gentle admonition, had a very good effect on all; they promised to attend strictly to the discharge of their duty. It is resolved that they are all to live on shore, to be more at hand.

Tuesday 29th. Rain in showers, wind variable. Empd getting ballast out. Nothing remarkable has happened.

Wednesday 30th. Throughout the whole day, we had heavy gusts from the Northward. We were employed sending on board the Fancy, sails & sundry stores.

Thursday 31st. This day has been the most disagreeable we have hitherto had. It has blown with uncommon violence from the Northwd. and has been attended with excessive heavy rain.

Friday 1st. Novr. Still rainy, altho' the wind has abated, much of its former violence. We found the Starboard Cable out entirely thro' by rubbing against the rocks. We slipp'd the other and hauled the Ship on shore for the purpose of seeing if it was possible to get her high enough to repair her as it was Spring Tide.

[One page torn out here. The Author.]

Friday 6th. I went to the upper part of the cove to cut down some trees for plank, the first we fell'd went into the water & sunk, the next we got into the water and, by good luck, it floated. We towed it to the beach and got it upon the Pit, when, deuce take it! it broke down; and our day's labour was lost.

Saturday 7th. Rigging sheers for new saw Pit, we built one on a 6 Butts.

Sunday 8th. In the morning we hoisted the piece of timber on the pit. I afterward cut another piece, and Brought it to the landing place. We expended the remaining part of the day rigging another pair of sheers for a new pit.

Monday 9th. This morning I hoisted the piece of timber which was cut yesterday on the pit. The weather has been very pleasant these two days.

Tuesday 10th. Rain in showers with a constant haze. Employed cutting timber for the long Boat.

Wednesday 11th. Having little to do, this day, I accompanied Capt. B. to Luncheon Cove. The weather, which before 8 o'clock in the morning looked threatening, assumed a more inviting appearance. We started at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 8 and arrived at Luncheon Cove at 10—from whence (after performing that ceremony from which the Cove was named) we pull'd to the Seal Isles to fish &c. The wind freshening at N.W. raised a great surf, which prevented our landing at the Outermost Island. We, however, pull'd inward alongshore, and happening to see a very large seal, I begged of Cn. Bampton to permit me to land which he complied with, hardly had I stepped out of the boat before 3 very heavy surfs came about me, I had no club with me; the boathook, which I had thrown on shore for that purpose had been carried out by the send back of the sea. And had the animal attacked me I was defenceless. My anxiety for the boat was greater than for the event of the Seal. I had, however, some wish to kill him, but the heaviness of the surf prevented my moving from the summit of the rock on which I stood, like

“Patience on a monument, smiling at Grief.”

At last, however, the sea went down, they took me in and we made the best of our way for the ship, where we arrived at 7 o'clock.

Since my writing the above day's work we have by some means lost the day of the week & month. The interval has been occupied in different events & employments, tending chiefly towards the fitting our vessels.

On the 18th Dec. I had an opportunity of getting the distance of the Sun & Moon, by which I learned the real day.

On 19th—I went on shore and set all hands to work and got a piece of timber on the Saw Pit. Mr. Bowell has been three days indisposed, he is now of opinion that his illness proceeds from an inflammation of the Liver. I for my part, am hearty, the Captain is so, and that is a great blessing to us all.

A quarrel which has been sometime hovering about at last was settled the other day. Mr. Alms, a passenger, had offered his assistance to Capt. B. to catch fish for the Ship's Company and had obtained the small boat for that purpose, Mr. Wain, chief Officer, finding himself hurt, (as the prior application had not been made for the boat to him), denied the two men which Capt. B. had granted, from going in her, but Mr. A. paid no attention to the denial & took them; from this time the two gentlemen have never been on the most intimate terms. Mr. A. went to Luncheon with Mr. Weathrall for the purpose of avoiding a quarrel. Mr. W. always wished for one. Necessity brot. Mr Alms to Facile Harbour and the wind being at S.SW. he sailed up. The morning after his arrival I was on the deck with Mr. Alms, and seeing the Yard of his Sail had been cut, I jocosely said—"So Mr. Johnny, I have a reckoning to make with you for spoiling that yard." He in the same manner replied "Whoever says that yard is spoilt, knows nothing of it"—Mr. Waine was walking the deck, he came to Mr. Alms, in a very impudent manner, thrust his face near to Mr. A's and said "I said you had spoilt the Yard, I *know* about it, and you are a S——n Puppy". Mr Alms made no answer to so foul an execration. He wished to preserve the utmost quietude untill the vessels were in the water. Soon after he came from Luncheon Cove, and wrote a note to Mr. Waine, which that Gentleman threw overboard, without opening. He then called him into the round house, and begged that I would attend to see what passed. The words were nearly the following.

Mr. Alms to Mr. W. You knew, Sir, I suppose what the expression was which I rec. from you. I cannot put it off any longer, but must have an immediate apology or satisfaction.

Mr. W. I do not think I gave any affront which could subject me to such a thing. I decline both.

Mr. A. Mr. Murry, you heard all that passed, give your opinion. Did Mr. Waine give me any provocation to act as I do, or not?

Murry. He gave such provocation as I could not have been silent on.

Mr. A. You hear Mr. Waine. I now desire you to ask my pardon before Mr. Murry, or to give me satisfaction in another manner this instant.

Mr. W. I will not! I cannot think of fighting a man who has been used to practise a Pistol. I don't like to be shot at like a bird.

Mr. Alms. That's nonsense, Sir. here are two pistols, take your choice of them, load them yourself, you shall have every advantage I can offer, but as you have refused to make atonement for the offence. You must fight me.

Mr. W. I cannot.

Mr. A. Then, Sir, You are a COWARD, a DASTARDLY COWARD! Mr. Murry, you hear what I say. I call Mr. Waine a Coward, who would dare to affront a gentleman, and refuse him satisfaction. Mr. W. you are a Coward, I shall publish this in India.

Mr. W. Well, if you call me a Coward I shall act accordingly.

(He then left the Cabin).

Since this the Gentlemen have not spoke to each other.

Sunday 20th We were employed cutting timber and plank.

Monday 21st. In the same.—Exceeding fine weather.

Tuesday 22nd. Ditto. Schooner Watering.

Wednesday 23rd—Employed variously. In the afternoon, I drew up the names of the Crews of each respective vessel,

which amounted to 244 Persons, Officers included.

Of which 90 go in the Providence.

90 in the Resource.

The remaining 64 in the Fancy.

Thursday 24th. Pleasant breezes at N.NW, attended with cloudy weather. Employed watering and wooding the providence and planking the Resouce.

Friday 25th. was Christmas day, our situation not permitting us to spare a whole, Capn. Bampton indulged the people with half a day, and gave the artificers, a portion of Mutton or Pork, with some Arrack, each man. Nor were the Ragged gang forgotten. Mr. Alms who had been previously sent to fish, returned in the morning with Seal & fish sufficient for all; to this the Captain added a dram. As for ourselves, we fared sumptuously, and altho' the absent were not toasted, I dare say, they were remembered. I can at least answer for myself.

Saturday 26th. This day our operations were resumed. I cannot but perceive the very great partiality the Capt. seems to feel for Mr. Weathrall and the vessel which he commands. I think he wants to have vessel ready with the Fancy. The visible attention paid her, and the subsequent want of care in Mr. Waine has thrown the Resource considerably aback. On examination, I cannot accuse myself of a jealous disposition, but, I think that it would displease me exceedingly to have the attention transferred from me to a junior officer.

Sunday 27th. This morning Captn. Bampton asked me, if I would stay behind with the Resource? I willingly replied I would. But I believe I showed some inward uneasiness; I had before said I would not sail in her, I now thought that it was unsafe, and that I should run some risque, in short, I had made up my mind to avoid sailing in her, but had determined to let no one know this resolution untill I had heard the Captain's mind on the subject. His asking me if I would stay, put an entire stop to, shall I? and I made the sacrifice, which I think the least part of my duty to Capt. Bampton. I am only afraid he discovered some inward uneasiness which I

endeavoured to conceal, as I know that if he thought any person under him uneasy in their situations he would sooner take it himself than see them unhappy.

Monday, 28th. Rainy disagreeable weather, — after having cut two pieces of timber, I went to dinner and recd. Capt. B's order to cut two knees — which I did immediately. The afternoon pleasant weather.

Tuesday 29th. Unsettled weather the wind fresh at N.N.E. attended with showers of Rain. Employed as necessary. I this day cut down 3 pieces of timber and pitted one.

Wednesday, 30th. Fresh gales from the northward with light showers. After getting 2 pieces of timber pitted, I fell'd a tree for the Rudder and cut three knees for the vessel.

Thursday 31st. This afternoon Capt. B. Made a division of the Stores and provisions.

Friday Jan. 1st, 1796. The day was most gloriously usher'd in by a quarrel, between Capt. Bampton and Mr. Waine, the latter was accused of discontent. Hitherto I have not been attacked by the Bull dogs of party—whenever I meet one I sheer off.

Saturday 2nd. This day was one of the finest that we have had since our arrival — it proved a day of the greatest importance to me. I have as I mentioned before, been rather unhappy at the idea of being left here — I was afraid of hurting Capt. Bampton's feelings on the subject, as I had every reason to think he wished me to stay, and I knew that the attachment of the people to me, won'd expedite the work, but Capt. Dell this day assured me that it was Capt. B's particular wish that I should accompany him. I therefore complied with his wish, in doing which I did myself a service, as it lessened the painful anxiety which has for sometime past, troubled me.

Sunday 3rd.—Fresh gale of wind from the northward, employed cutting timber for the vessel which was launch'd and pitting pines for the Sawyers.

Thursday 7th. We weighed and sailed out of Facile Harbour, we had a very light breeze from the S.E. and the Providence was in company. At 9 A.M. we were abreast of

Went to the upper part of the cove to cut down some trees
 for plant, the firemen shd' work to the water down, the
 rest we got out the boats and by good luck it floated for
 land up to the beach and got off upon the 18th, when, damn
 luck! it broke down, and our dogs labours was lost.

Digging a hole for new end. It was built on one
 of the 6 boats.



On Monday In the morning we loaded the piece of lumber
 on the pitte. It afterwards cut another piece and
 brought it to the land's place. It separated the

SAWPIT USED BY "ENDEAVOUR" CREW IN DUSKY, 1795.

Pt. Five fingers, the wind chopping suddenly round to the sea, we were obliged to make 3 boards before we could wr. the Point. The Schooner was astern at 10 o'clock at 1/2 past 10 we pass'd Pt. five fingers, and ran out into the offing, where, at Noon, we brot. too for the Schooner, and at 1 P.M. veered and stood in for her, she was then close under the Fingers — at 2 she was without them and we veered upon coming up they informed us that they had narrowly escaped, being lost upon the Point. The vessel had missed stays, and as it fell calm they could not veer her, the tide setting her among the Rocks. A light air, however, released them from the painful anxiety which they must have felt.

Wherever I have followed our immortal country man, Captn. Cook, I have never been so presuming as to aim at description, he has left very little to be done at any Port, or on any Coast he ever visited, but, for the information of the few friends I have, and as memorandums to myself, should I again visit this part of the world; I think my efforts will not appear altogether blameable; as the observations I make, are such as Captn. Cook, had not an opportunity of knowing, or such as he would have known, had he staid as long, and visited Duskey Bay, as often as I have.

In Captain Cook's description of the Country and the Harbours of Duskey Bay, I find not one error; some things have indeed escaped his notice, which good fortune has pointed out to us, and future Navigators may discover, what we never saw. For an accurate description of Duskey Bay, I should refer to Cooks 2nd Voyage, with the following observations as additions which I presume will be found of some service.

A Commander unacquainted with Duskey Bay, having a chart of the Harbours before him, would chuse Facile Harbour as the safest and most commodious. In this however he would chuse one of the worst, as I shall endeavour to prove.

At Duskey Bay, the wind blows constantly in the summer months from the northward, in Winter, as in-

variably from the S.Wd. I never knew of an instance of a Southerly gale of wind in Summer, or a northerly one in the winter season. It therefore becomes necessary to chuse Your Harbour according to the season, in this prudence will direct the choice. You will naturally chuse an harbour from which you may with ease get to Sea — in this case, I know of no better Harbour than Cascade Cove in Winter, or the Bason, and little Harbour in Summer, it is necessary to go out, in summer with a northerly wind, as the southerly ones blow too strong and throw too much Sea into the sound to admit of a ship working against it; In settled weather, by weighing very early, and getting into the sound you may, (and as it seldom fails) will, get a land breeze from the S.E. about 9 A.M. sometimes sooner the sea breeze sets in, and if you are after this time, 'tis fifty to one you do not get out that day.

But in Winter, you may get out of the Son. Harbour with any winds, and run out of the North entrance with a southern gale, which I should prefer, as you may get an offing sooner by running out of the Son. entrance, the land between being a promontory, which projects considerably into the Sea.

The great height of the land about Facile Harbour and the immense depth of the valleys, or rather chasms between the hills, cause the wind to come down in heavy gusts, a ship must have good tackle to ride a Northerly gale out in Facile Harbour, whereas in Little Harbour and the Bason, the puffs are neither frequent nor heavy, but the winds are more settled and blow more steadily and with less violence. In no other part of Duskey Bay have I felt the gusts of so much violence as in Facile Harbour.

There are several stragling rocks lying on the Eastern Shore of the North Cove which are very dangerous, and the ground in several parts is foul and has considerable over falls. If any person runs into this Harbour I would advise them to keep close to the west Point and give the other shore a good birth, keeping about $\frac{2}{3}$ of the

channel over and run well into the bight to the westward of the Facile Rock, where you may anchor in 14 fms. soft mud, and if you drive here you will haul the anchor up a mud bank.

When in the offing it is not easy to distinguish Duskey Bay, and I had nearly mistaken it, for we made the land of Cape West, and stood in for the bay untill about two miles from the shore, when I discovered that we had mistaken this for Duskey Bay, it came on to blow hard soon after and we stood out to sea. Mr Malen, the mate of the *Britannia* had been sent by Captain Raven to examine this bay, and reported that it was a very dangerous coast, straggling rocks extending some miles to sea. At the time we veered to stand off we were about $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile from ye shore, and had a small rock, which was the only one we saw, within us, it might be $\frac{1}{4}$ of a mile from the Shore, in allowing it so great a distance, I make the greatest that can be supposed. The bay seemed to us to have as fair entrance as Duskey Bay, with this difference that in the north entrance there are several rocky Isles, a large Isld lies in the middle, which, with the great similitude this Pt. has to Five Fingers, made me think it Duskey Bay — the South entrance is also much like that of Duskey, but the Seal Isles are further to the Sod. From these circumstances I think it highly worth the trouble to examine this bay, as it may afford shelter to ships who cannot fetch Duskey, with a Northberly wind; but from what I have said I would not wish any person to venture too far with a Ship.

The Officer who went to examine this bay, was not a man of the most enterprising genius, I wonder not therefore that he did not so clearly determine the truth; and I am led to believe that he never went so far to see it at all; I suppose he saw the rock which I mentioned, from the boat and as he kept close along shore, it had the appearance of being at a greater distance than it really is,—but for his account of a reef extending from the No. Pt. across the Bay, I cannot account. We saw not a breaker, but the surf only which runs upon the shore.

The timber which grows here, would answer very well for plank, for the Ship Builder, Joiner or Cabinet Maker; this is the opinion of our Carpenter in the Britannia. He being as well acquainted with its properties as any man of his profession; and the Joiner preferred it to the wood of Port Jackson or the Brazile wood. But I think it would be a task of some trouble, to get a Cargo of spars, sufficiently long for the Masts of Ships.

To procure turpentine, we made several experiments, by tapping, &c. but found no method of extracting any, and I believe that none is to be got from them. In the centre of the large Spruce trees grows a gum of a light colour with streaks of red, this is found to have all the properties of Pitch when melted,— but it is so hard, and grows in such small quantities, that it would be an endless job to extract sufficient for caulking a ship.

In the Pitch Pine trees, there is no gum of any sort but the bark emits a transparent resin which has a most agreeable smell, but it would take a man a week to get a Pound of it and would half of that be wasted thro' the moss which mixes with it, and is inseparable from it.

Capt. Cook has given so good a description of the Spruce Fir, that it is impossible to mistake it. But he has not taken any notice of the Pitch Pine—Birch—and large Myrtle.

The Pitch Pine is remarkable for its black bark, which when cut and rubbed with the finger smells agreeably. It generally grows from 20 to 40 feet without branches, and the wood is much like Norway Pitch Pine, but whiter.

The Birch is only fit for fuel. Its uncommon whiteness would cause it to be preferred for decks, &c. but it splits with the smallest blow, and, of all the woods at Duskey Bay it is the least durable. It grows from a large stump about 50—60 & even 70 feet with branches included. The boughs spread more than any other tree and the bark is generally white, somewhat resembling the hazel in England.

The Myrtle is not so large, it grows near the water,

has a red bark, and is known by the smell of its leaf which very much resembles the smell of the leaf from which its takes its name, it is of use for turners or Cabinet makers. Makes excellent block pins, and from its hardness may be converted to many uses with which I am unacquainted. There are many other kinds of wood, which, as they scarcely deserve notice, I have not ment. but the Spruce Pine is the best for Naval Purposes, and the Pitch for small spars..

[In the manuscript it is difficult to make out whether the name of one of the passengers is "Arms" or "Alms." The Author.]

[At Norfolk Island Mr Murray went on board the "Providence", and from 2nd. Feb. 1796 to 17th Apl. 1796 the log is the log of the 1st. vessel built in Australasia, made the Loyalty Islands 5th February. She was a bad sailer. The Author.]

"It is the intention of Capt. Bampton to leave us, being a bad sailer to ourselves, this day (6th Feb) we have kept ahead of the brig, and, as we have no ballast very little water and few good sails, the present time should I think be embraced for getting these points accomplished that we may proceed on our passage."

[On 10th. Apl. 1796 the position of the Providence was Lat. 1° 22' S. and 119° 53' E. The Author.]

APPENDIX F.

CAPTAIN KELLY'S EVIDENCE.

Evidence of Captain James Kelly regarding New Zealand given before Mr Commissioner Bigge sitting in Hobart.
Copied from the Manuscript Records of Tasmania,
Colonial Secretary's Office Hobart, by the Author.

Mr James Kelly examined 3rd May, 1820, a native of the Colony of New South Wales.

You have been employed I believe in the seal fishery on the coast of New Zealand ?

I have.

Are they found in great numbers there now ?

Not as much as formerly. The fishery has been too much occupied.

Have you been on the Western as well as the Eastern Coast of New Zealand ?

I have.

Did you find any harbours or bays there where large ships could find shelter ?

There are several where there is good anchorage for large vessels.

Are they inlets or open bays ?

They are inlets and Harbours.

Is the coast mountainous ?

Very mountainous and the summits are covered with beds of snow all the year round.

Is fresh water to be procured ?

In great abundance.

Does the New Zealand Pine grow upon the shores ?

It does in great abundance as well as the New Zealand flax.

Do the natives frequent this coast ?

Not much. I have seen traces of them, as well as of their canoes that have been cast away. I have likewise seen Human skulls and war instruments on the coast. It is known that the natives do go to the western coasts but they do not stay there.

How and in what places do the New Zealand Pine trees grow ?

They grow along the flat shores of the bays and inlets and also up the sides of the mountains that are not very steep.

On which soil are the largest trees found ?

On the shores near the water.

What do you conjecture may be their height ?

I think from 70 to 80 feet may be the greatest height.

Are they much encumbered with branches ?

The trees that grow upon the flat grounds are not.

Are they straight or of great girth ?

Generally so and I have seen them from 4 to 5 feet through the butts.

Have you ever seen these trees used as spars or topmasts for vessels ?

Only for small ones.

Have they been found durable and to answer well ?

Those I have seen have answered well.

Are knots found in the New Zealand pines ?

Not till you come to the place where the limbs commence.

Is that high above the ground ?

Generally more than two-thirds of the tree.

Have vessels much resorted to the Western Coast of New Zealand ?

Very few.

They are exposed to heavy tempests in the winter season ?

They are.

On what part of the coast do the Harbours lay that you have spoken of ?

From 43° to 46° South.

Do the spermaceti whales frequent them ?

They do not it is too cold.

Do you think that considerable quantities of New Zealand pine may be obtained and that ships may be easily loaded with it in the Harbours that you have described ?

I think that considerable quantities may be obtained and that ships may be loaded with it when at anchor.

What season is the most favourable for cutting the pine timber ?

I think that the summer would be most favourable, as in the winter there are heavy falls of rain and thick fogs that would impede the work.

Is the cold severe ?

It is.

INDEX.

The details of the Appendices are not included.

- ACHERON** passage first used, 24
ACTIVE, brigantine.
Sketch of her unfortunate career, 108, 109.
Reference to trip and loss, 153
Experiences of her marooned gang, 153 *et seq.*
Reference to, 167
ACTIVE, missionary brig.
Rescues survivors Betsy, 171
ADMIRALTY BAY.
Visited by Capt. Cook, 9
Reference to, 227
ADVENTURE, The.
Cook's second voyage, 13
ADVENTURE, schooner, 102
Reference to, 157
AGNES, brig, 156
ALBION, record run, 38
Whaler, 96
ALEXANDER I, Czar sends Scientific Expedition, 190
ALEXANDER, whaler, (Captain Rhodes), 81
ALLIGATOR, sealer.
Crew attacked by Maoris, 258
Adds flax to her cargo of skins, 260
At Easy Bay sealing, 260
Returns Sydney successful, 260
C. xxiv., p. 275
ALLWRIGHT (George), drowned at Macquarie, 120, 121
ALMS, *see also* Arms.
Passenger Fancy, 59
AMERICAN TRADE.
Mercury, relieves Endeavour's crew, 66
Pendleton, in Union at Antipodes, 87
Pendleton, killed at Tongataboo, 88
Lord, charged with defrauding, 88
Independence (Townshend), sailed for Antipodes, 88
Independence (F. Smith), 89
Favourite (Paddock), sailed for Penantipodes, 89
Favorite, returned with cargo, 89
Delano, with Perseverance and Pilgrim, visits Snares and Bounties, 90, 91, 92
General Gates, pp. 180 to 189
Attracted by seals, 228
Henry (Johnson), fitted out and lost, 253
Thomas, off the coast, 257
Vessels often short handed, 257
Yankee (Thayer), schooner visits Sydney from Auckland Islands, 258, 259
Antarctic (Morrell), visits Auckland Islands, Snares, Stewart Island and Molyneux, 263, 264, 265
Yankee (Thayer), reports Elizabeth and Mary, 273
AMSTERDAM ISLAND, 113
ANCHOR ISLAND.
Cook anchors, 14
First N.Z. seal killed, 15
ANCHOR ISLAND HARBOUR.
Vancouver anchors in, 30
Vancouver surveys, 32
Suggested renaming, 33
Raven anchors in, 43
ANJEAN, French vessel at Auckland Islands relieved 147
ANN, convict transport, 97
ANN, whaler, conveys Ruatara to Bay of Islands, 97
Takes Ruatara to Sydney, 97

- ANNENKOF, lieutenant, Russian Expedition, 193
- ANTARCTIC, American schooner, visits Pegasus, 248
- ANTIPODE, schooner. Spoken, 102
Arrives Sydney, 102
Reference to, 117, 151
- ANTIPODES ISLANDS. *See also* Penantipodes.
Their discovery, 68
In Bass's scheme, 74
Pendleton visits, 87
Lord's charter, 88
Paddock visits, 89
Stewart visits, 92
Birnie brings Stewart back, 95
Grave of chief officer, Prince of Denmark, 245
- APPARENT ISLAND, 31
- ARGO, whaler, 96
- ARMS of Maoris described, 213
- ARMS, *see* Alms.
- ARSMITH MAP, 191, 198
- ASQUITH (Messrs T. & D.)
Stewart's principals in timber and flax scheme, 240, 241
- ASSISTANCE, The.
Arrival at Sydney, 64
Description of, 64
Sold, 64
- ATEVIDA, Spanish corvette, 49
- AUCKLAND ISLANDS. *See also* Bristow's Island.
Discovered, 94
Bristow takes possession of, 95
Lat. and long. of principal points as observed by Bristow 95
Commerce visits, 98
Captain Bollon's return, 147
Betsy visits, 167
Mentioned, 197
Queen Charlotte visits, 259
Samuel arrives with skins from, 259, 260
Antarctic visits, 263
- AURORA, whaler, &c., 93
Leaves for sealing 118
Returns to Sydney, 119
Sails Macquaries, 124
C. xxiv., pp. 267
- BADEE (Capt.)
Brigantine Active, 108
Lost at sea, 153
- BAILEY, astronomer, 13
- BALES (William), seaman with Edwardson, lost at sea, 209
- BAMPTON (W. W.), master Endeavour.
Takes Shah Hormuzear to India, 57
Arrives in Endeavour in Sydney, 68
Sails for Dusky, 68
Reaches Facile Harbour, 58
Visits Luncheon Cove, 58
Finds Raven's deserted vessel, 59
Condemns and dismantles Endeavour, 59
Trouble with his officers, 60
Trouble with crew, 60
Repairs and fits for sea Raven's vessel, 60
Renames Raven's vessel the Providence, 60
Leaves his first officer at Facile, 61
Leaves Facile Harbour in Fancy, 61
Arrives at Norfolk Island, 61
His report to the Lieut.-Governor, 61, 62
- BANKS (Sir Joseph).
Accompanies Cook, 6
On board Endeavour, 6
Declines to go in Resolution, 14
His account of Malaspina's voyage, 49
His account of the numbers of seals, 86
Remarks on boundaries of sealing grounds, 94
- BANKS ISLAND. *See also* Banks Peninsula.
Proves a Peninsula, 106
Perseverance sights, 138
Reference, 147
de Blossville's journal, 222
- BANKS PENINSULA. *See also* Banks Island.
Discovered by Cook, 6
- BARNETT (Capt.), cutter Lambton (N.Z. Co.), 243
- BASS (George), explorer.
Leaves Sydney, 70
Explores Australian Coast, 70
Description of, 70
Circumnavigates Van Diemen's Land, 71

- Bass Strait** named, 71
 Sails for England, 71
 Forms trading company, 71
 Arrives Sydney in Venus, 71
 Leaves Sydney for Dusky, 72
 Arrives at Dusky, 72
 Sails for Otaheite, 72
 Returns to Sydney, 72
 Proposes his fishery scheme, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75
 Letters to Captain Waterhouse, 75, 76
 Ultimate fate a mystery, 76, 77
BASS STRAIT, Australia's sealing ground, 78
 Reference to, 226
BASS STRAIT SEALING.
 Sealers visit N.Z., 83
 Compared with Macquarie, 172
BATHURST (Earl), 116
 Correspondence with De Thierry, 237, 238
BAUDIN (Commodore). Report on depletion of sealing grounds, 78
 Reference to his warning *re* sealing trade, 256
BAUZA (Don Felipe).
 Commander of boat, 52
 Island named after, 55
BAY OF ISLANDS.
 Sydney Cove massacre, 163
 Betsy abandoned off, 169
 Betsy's Lascar survivors left at, 171
 Visited by General Gates, 181, 184
BELLINGHAUSEN (Thaddeus).
 Russian Commander, 190
 Visits Macquarie Id., 190
 Full account of Macquarie and mode of life of sealers, 190 *et seq.*
BENNETT, London Missionary Society, 235
BERRY AND WOLLSTENCRAFT.
 Owners, Sydney sealer Perseverance, 254
BETSY leaves Sydney, 167
 Disastrous voyage & abandonment, 167 *et seq.*
 Sufferings of survivors, 170
 C, xxiv., pp. 269
BEVERIDGE (Capt.)
 Elizabeth and Mary, 173
 St. Michael, 233
BIECH (T. W.)
 Owner, brig Sophia, 162
BIRDS. Vancouver's report, 33
BIENIE (J.)
 Master of Star, relieves Stewart, 93
 Master of Commerce, 95
BIENIE (Mr), flax trade, 132, 133, 140, 141, 142
BISHOP, master, brig Venus, 71
BISHOP and his Clerk, 120
BLAXWELL (Mr). Flax trade, 132
BLIGH (Lieut.), H.M.S. Bounty.
 Discovers Bounty Isles, 26
 Voyage described, 26
 Deposed Governor, 104
BLIND BAY. Reference to, 227
BLOODWORTH (James), carpenter
 Perseverance, saved, 121
BLOSSEVILLE (Jules de).
 Midshipman Coquille, 199
 Exhaustive account of Tavai-Poenamou, 219—228
 Story of Caddell [Coddell], 165, 166
BLUE, master, sealer Blues, 276
BLUES, sealer, xxiv, p., 276
BLUFF HARBOUR. *See also* Port Macquarie.
 First description, 145, 147
BOARD OF TRADE.
 Petition to, in favour of extended whaling boundaries, 48
BOAT BUILDING.
 Description of first vessel built wholly in Australasia, 43
BOLLONS (Capt.) s.s. Hinemoa.
 Suggested renaming of Anchor Island Harbour, 33
 Rescued survivors Anjean, 147
BOUNTY ISLES.
 Discovered, 26, 69
 Bass scheme, 74
 Visited by Delano, 90, 91
 Described by Delano, 92
 Moody in Santa Anna visits, 95
 Chace in King George visits, 96
BOWMAKER (Wm.), passenger per Surry to Macquarie, 271
BOYD, schooner.
 Returns from relief of Foveaux St. gangs, 114

- Report *re* Sydney Cove, 115
 Reports hurricane N.Z., 115
- BOYD, ship.
 Long boat and papers sent
 Sydney, 118
- BRADFORD (C. F.)
 Advertisement for, 82
- BROUGHTON, (Captain).
 Accompanies Vancouver, 30
 Explores Broughton Arm, 31
 Surveys Facile Harbour, 32
 Discovers the Chathams, 35
- BREAKSEA, Island and Sound.
 Cook sailed past, 24
 Natives seen by Raven, 40
 Oliphant loses a man, 80
- BRISTOW, (A.), master, Ocean.
 Discovers the Auckland Is-
 lands, 94
 Describes the group, 94
 Visits and takes possession of
 Auckland Islands in the
 Sarah, 95
- BRISTOW'S (Bristers) ISLAND.
See Auckland Islands.
 Enterprise visits, 156
 Elizabeth and Mary visits, 171
 Queen Charlotte visits, 259
- BRITANNIA, ship (Raven).
 Proposed departure for Dusky,
 39
 Sails for Cape of Good Hope
via Dusky, 40
 Anchors in Facile Harbour, 40
 Lands first sealing gang, 40
 Leaves N.Z. waters, 41
 Returns to Sydney, 41
 Sails for Dusky, 42
 Anchors in Anchor Island
 Harbour, 43
 Britannia sails for Norfolk
 Island, 44
 Description of buildings
 erected at Luncheon Cove,
 40
 Log of, 318
- BROTHERS, schooner.
 Whaleboat found by Boyd,
 114
 Massacre of four men, 217
- BROUGHTON ARM, 31
- BROWN, master, sealer Glory, 253
- BROWN (Robert), mate, Brothers,
 115
- BROWN (Thomas) of Riverton, first
 half caste born at Codfish
 Island Settlement, 263
 Died, 263
- BRUTUS, sealer, C. xxiv., p. 274
- BUNKER (Eber).
 Master, William and Ann, pro-
 posed visit to Dusky, 38
 Master Albion, whaler, 38
 Capt. of Frederick, 97
 Master, Pegasus, in Foveaux
 Strait, 101, 104
- BUSBY (John), engineer.
 Visits N.Z., 230.
 Biographical notice, 233
 Undertakes launching of
 Elizabeth Henrietta, 233
 Launches Elizabeth Henrietta,
 233
 Returns to Sydney, 234
 Petition and account of his
 work, 234
 Granted gratuity, 235
- BUSTAMANTE (Capt.) *See* Malas-
 pina, 49
- BYERS, Rogers, McIntyre and
 Nixon, American ship
 owners, 253
- CABBAGE, at Macquarie Island,
 195
 Method of using, 196
- CADDELL (J.), Pakeha Maori.
 His history, 163 et seq.
 Meets de Bloeseville, 199
 Embarks on Snapper, 203
 Becomes interpreter for Ed-
 wardson, 203
 Warns Edwardson of Paihi's
 plot, 204
 Leaves Edwardson, 205
 Biographical notice, 217
 Captured by Edwardson, 252
 Results from his visit to
 Sydney, 253
 Reference to, 263
- CALDER, brig.
 Brings Busby to Sydney, 234
- CAMPBELL (Capt.)
 Report on fate of Bass, 77
- CAMPBELL (R.), Junr.
 Advertises for crew for Re-
 galia, 175
 Owns Schooner Newcastle, 257
 Part owner Glory, 262
- CAMPBELL & Co. *See also* Camp-
 bell, Hook & Co.
 Seal traders, &c., 79, 118, 119,
 126

- CAMPBELL, HOOK & Co.**, 114, 117, 122
- CAMPBELL ISLAND**, 119
 Captain Smith's description of, 119, 120
 Wreckage found on, 120, 127
 Hasselbrough discovers, and is drowned at, 121
 Origin of name, 123
 Mary and Sally visits, 125
 Concord visits, 126
 Mary and Sally tragedy, 127
 H. Neale rescued, 127
 Reference to, 130, 167
 French Expedition to, 174
 Anchorage reported by Stowaway, 174
 Visited by the Governor Bligh, 252
 Trade account C. xxiv., p. 266
 Aurora, 267
 Cumberland, 268
 Elizabeth and Mary, 273
 L'Uranie, 270
 Mary and Sally, 267
 Perseverance, 267
- CAMPBELL MACQUARIE**, sealer.
 Sent to Macquarie to relieve sealing gangs, 128
 Wrecked at Macquarie, 128
 Reference to, 167
 Earthquakes at Macquarie, 173
 C. xxiv., pp. 268, 270
- CANAL**, possible connecting Dusky, Chalky and Preservation, 224
- CANARIS**.
 Snapper drops anchor, 199
- CANDOR**. Letter to Sydney papers re traffic in Maori heads, 159, 160, 161
- CANOE**s of the Natives described, 126
- CARNLEYS HARBOUR** visited by Antarctic, 263
- CAROLINE**, of Hobart, enters Macquarie trade, 176
 Discovers reef, 176
 Last voyage, wrecked at Macquarie, 177
 Sale of wreck, advertised, 178
 Underwood buys wreck, 179
 Cargo brought to Sydney, 179
 C. xxiv., pp. 272, 273
- CASCADE COVE**, 31
- CASCADE POINT**.
 Effect of earthquakes, 262
- CASTLEREAGH (Viscount)**, 104
- CENTRE ISLAND**, 204
- CHACE (S. R.)**, master, King George, 96
 Commands Aurora, 118
 Despatched in Governor Bligh for supplies to Leith, 112
- CHACE & Co.**, shipowners, 116
- CHACE (Captain) Pegasus**.
 Visits Stewart Island, 104
 Discovers Banks Island to be a peninsula, 106
- CHALKY BAY**.
 Visited by General Gates, 184
 Visited by Snapper, 199
 Country in vicinity described, 200
 Form of headlands, 208
 de Blossville's journal, 222
 Fully described by de Blossville, 224
 Snapper anchors in, 227
 Reference to, 227
- CHALKY INLET** discovered, 14
- CHALKY ISLAND** located, 224
- CHAMPION (Messrs)** *see* Enderby (Messrs)
- CHARLES**, American sealer of Boston, 116, 257
- CHARTS**.
 Cook's, of Dusky, 22
 Vancouver's, of Dusky, 32
 Malaspina's, unobtainable, 55
 Cook's, of New Zealand, 105
 Stewart's, of Pegasus, 105
 Arosmith's, of Macquarie, 189
 Nozie's, of Stewart Id., 225
- CHARLTON (Capt.)**. Information given de Blossville, 223
- CHATHAM, The**.
 Vancouver's Expedition, 28
- CHATHAM ISLANDS**.
 Discovery by Broughton, 95
 Visited by the Commerce, 99
 Reported to be on fire, 99, 100
 Sophia visits, 163
 Wreck of Glory, 261
- CHATHAM POINT**, 31
- CHATHAM ROPE YARD**.
 Report on specimens of N.Z. flax, 145
- CHILDREN, Maori**.
 Manners and customs of, 213

- CHINA. Chief destination seal-skins, 47
- CLIMATE and natural features of North and South Islands contrasted by de Blosseville, 226, 227
- CLOUDY BAY. 227
- CODDELL (James), *see* Caddell (James)
- CODFISH HARBOUR, Geographical position, 206
de Blosseville's journal, 225
- CODFISH ISLAND, 105
Settlement, 262, 263
First halfcaste born at, 263
- COR (Capt.) H.M.S. Tees, 230
Fails to float Elizabeth Henrietta, 231
Letter reporting on same, 231, 232
- COFFIN (Capt.) American sealer Enterprise, 155
See also Enterprise, 155, 156
- COLAC BAY. Cook off it, 6
- COLE (John), seaman Sally, drowned, 259
- COLLINS, historian, 38
Remarks on Dusky, &c., 45, 46
- COLLINS. Captain of American sealer, routed by Natives, 201
- COLLINS (Lt.-Governor) abandons Port Phillip, 116
- COLLINS (W.) master, sealer Regalia, 272
- COLONIAL HEAD, 110
- COMMERCE, sealing vessel, 95
Visits Southern islands, 98
Account of voyage, 98, 99
- CONCORD, brig, sails for Macquarie, 124
Report on Macquarie, 124, 125
Loss of boat's crew, Macquarie, 126
Sails for England, 126
C. xxiv., pp. 267, 268
- CONTEST, schooner, arrives at Sydney, from Dusky, 83
Advertisement *re* boats left at Dusky, 84
Wrecked at Port Stevens, 84
Reference to, 85
- COOK (Capt.)
Reasons for first voyage, 3 & 4
Discovers Cape Saunders, 4
Sights the Molyneux, 4
Discovers Ruapuke, 4
Sights Stewart Island, 4
Discovers the Traps, 5
Names South Cape, 6
Discovers Solander Island, 6
Decides against the insularity of Stewart Island, 7
Discovers Dusky Bay, 8
Names Point Five Fingers, 8
Names West Cape, 8
Passes Doubtful Sound, 8
Visits Admiralty Bay, 9
Completes circumnavigation of both islands, 9
Sails for England, 9
His review of his West Coast Voyage, 9
His opinion of the Endeavour, 10
Preparation for second Voyage, 13
Instructions to Furneaux, 14
Departs on second voyage, 14
Discovers Chalky Inlet, 14
Uses Pickersgill Harbour, 15
Proceedings at Dusky, 15, 16
Attempts to interview Natives, 16
Instructions how to prevent scurvy, 18
First interview with Maoris, 19
His account of the food supplies at Dusky, 20
Synopsis of work at Dusky, 22
Sails from Dusky, 22
Recipe for herbal beer, 23
Receives Royal So. Medal, 22
Acheron Passage & Breaksea, 24
As a sportsman, 33
Camp visited by Broughton, 36
Malaspina's tribute to, 52
Reference to, 148
Blosseville's reference to, 219, 223
- COOK (George), shipbuilder.
Meets Stewart, Bay of Islands, 242
Accompanies Stewart to Pegasus, 242
Ancestor of Cook family of Cape Brett, 242
Sons born, 242
After departure of Stewart, 246

- Meets Stewart at Sydney, 246
Returns Bay of Islands, 247
- COOK'S MISTAKE, 105
- COOKING, Native methods, 215, 216
- COOPER (D.), master schooner Unity, 119
- COQUILLE, French Expeditionary Vessel reaches Sydney, 199
Sails Bay of Islands, 199
Essay by officers on N.Z. Ethnology, 211—218
- CORDOZA, Portuguese seaman, Betsy, dies, 168
- CORMORANT COVE.
Named by Cook, 33
Visited by Raven, 40
- CRAIG, master, sealer Perseverance, 278
- CROOKED ARM, *see also* Malaspina Creek, 56
- CROZETS, Islands, 89
- CRYPTOSTULES, herb found at Macquarie, 196
- CUBBITT (T.), master sealer Cumberland, 269
- CUMBERLAND, leaves Sydney, 167
C. xxiv., pp. 268, 269
- CYPRUS from Hobart brings cargo and crew of Caroline, 177
Copy of Manifest, 178
C. xxiv., p. 293
- DAEDALUS, store ship, 42
- DAGG, master Scorpion, 83
- DAGG SOUND, 83
- DARK BAY, 227
- DART, brig, 82
- DAVIES (John), seaman Betsy, abandoned in boat, 169
- DAWSON (Capt.). Governor Bligh arrives Sydney, 251
In Samuel, Sydney sealer, 254
Massacred by Maoris, 257
- DAY (Capt.) sealer Wellington, 259
- DAY (Robert), sawyer, accompanied Stewart from Bay of Islands to Pegasus Bay, 242
- DEAS COVE, 110
- DEATH. Treatment of the Native dead, 214
- DELANO, Amasa (Capt.), 90
Account of his travels, 91
Description of Snares, 91
Description of Bounties, 91, 92
- DELL, master of brig Fancy, 57
Visits River Thames, 57
Returns to Sydney, 58
Sails for Dusky, 58
Visits Luncheon Cove, 58
Surveys and condemns Endeavour, 59
Transferred to the Providence, 60
Arrives at Norfolk Island, 61
- DEMIDOFF (M.), Russian Expedition, 190, 193
- DENNISON, mate of Fancy, surveys and condemns Endeavour, 59
- DESCUBIERTA, corvette, 49
- DESOLATION ISLAND. Sealing trade, Hobart Press reports, 261
- DILLON (Capt.), brig Calder, 234
- DISCOVERY. *See also* Vancouver.
Vancouver's ship, 28, *et seq.*
Breaks adrift, 30
- DISCOVERY POINT, 31
- DISEASES, of the Maoris, 214, 215
- DIXON, master of Regalia, 174
Reports Russian ships Wostock and Mirnyj at Macquarie, 175
C. xxiv., p. 271
- DODD, master, sealer Governor Arthur, 275
- DOUBTFUL SOUND, named, 8
Cook's description of, 8
Outlined, 69
Connected with Thompson, 109
- DOUGLASS, master, sealer Mariner, 272
- DUCE, desperado, 116
- DUCK BAY.
Discovered and named, 135
Explored, 136
- DUCKS (Paradise).
Called painted, 21
At Duck Bay, 135
- DUPERREY, Commander Coquille, 199
- DURHAM (Earl of), N.Z. Co., 237
- D'URVILLE *re* Banks Peninsula, 106
- DUSKY BAY, named, 8
Cook's description, 8
Cook completes survey, 15
Survey by Vancouver, 31
Vancouver's tribute to, 34

- House's unfavourable report, 45
 Norfolk Island official's favourable report, 45
 Collins (historian) remarks on, 45, 46
 Raven's official report on, 46
 Malaspina off, 53
 Bampton visits, 57
 Completion of Survey, 69
 Bass' scheme includes, 74
 Oliphant starts sealing, 80
 Reference to Active, 154
 Form of headlands, 208
 Referred to by de Blosseville, 219
 Described by de Blosseville, 223
 Reference to, 227
 Elizabeth's port of departure, 259
- EARTHQUAKES.**
 Felt at Luncheon Cove, 44
 Shock at Doubtful Harbour, 110
 Severe at Macquarie, 173, 174
 Experienced by Russians at Macquarie, 193
 At Macquarie, 195
 Very severe at Duaky, 262
- EAST INDIA COMPANY**, an obstacle to the sealing trade, 94
 Influence on Australian and New Zealand industries, 47
- EAST HARBOUR**, visited by Snapper, 205
 de Blosseville's Journal, 225
- EDWARDSON (Captain)**, Snapper.
 Reaches Sydney, 163
 Account of massacre, Sydney Cove boat's crew, 163
 Particulars regarding Caddell, 165
 Meets de Blosseville, 199
 Explores Chalky Bay country, 200
 Anchors in South Port, 200
 Rescues gang of General Gates, 200, 201
 Meets Stuart and Caddell, 202
 Visits villages of Paihi and Te Ouherra, 202
 Attempts manufacture phormium, 203
 Lands at Old Man's Bluff, 204
 Ships potatoes at Ruapuke, 207
- Description of phormium, 208, 209
 Returns to Sydney, 209
 Biographical notice, 209, 210
 His ethnological sketch of the Maoris, 211-218
 Supplies pigs, 216
 Reference to, 217, 219
 Journals of, referred to by de Blosseville, 221
 Information given, acknowledged by de Blosseville, 223
 Latitudes slightly incorrect, 225
 Reference to flax, 229
 Sent to report on N. Z. trade, 252
 Favourable report flax trade, 252
 Captures Caddell, 252
- EDWARDSON SOUND**, 210
EDWIN, schooner, 116, 117
EICHENWALD (M.), Russian naturalist, 196
- ELDER (Capt.)**, New Zealander, 112
- ELPHANT OIL**, *see also* Oil.
 Imported to Sydney, 252
 C. xxiv., pp. 267, 269, 270, 275, 276
- ELIZABETH**, brig.
 Sails to N. Z., sealing, 252
 Record of her cargo, 254
 For Chathams, sealing, 260
- ELIZABETH HENRIETTA**, Government brig, 229
 Launch and first employment, 229
 Capsized, 229
 Sails for New Zealand, 229
 Letter to Col. Sec., stating object of her voyage, 230
 Wrecked at Ruapuke, 230
 Floated again, 233
 Final wreck, 235
 Cannon supposed to belong to, at Ruapuke, 236
 Despatched for flax, 252
 Reference to stranding of, 254
- ELIZABETH AND MARY.**
 Sealing expedition, 119
 Return and report, 123
 Relieves Campbell Macquarie's shipwrecked crew, 128, 129
 Proceeds to Macquarie, 171

- Returns to Sydney with the Bete's gang, 171
 Engaged in Macquarie sealing, 172, 173
 Arrives from New Zealand, 251
 At Auckland Island, 259
 C. xxiv., pp. 267, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276
- ELLIOTT, master, Emerald, Macquarie fleet, 175
- EMERALD, from Hobart, joins the Macquarie fleet, successful, 175
 Sails with cargo for England, 175
 C. xxiv., pp. 271, 272
- EMMETT (Mr), part owner Glory, 262
- ENDEAVOUR.
 Reference to the three vessels of this name, 81
- ENDEAVOUR, barque (Cook).
 Description of the vessel, 9, 10
 Fate of the vessel discussed, 11
 Controversy, Appendix A, p. 277 *et seq.*
- ENDEAVOUR, ship (Bampton).
 Arrives Sydney, 58
 Purchased, 58
 Refitted at Sydney, 58
 Sails for Dusky, 58
 Springs a leak, 58
 Arrives at Dusky, 58
 Surveyed at Dusky and condemned, 59
 Dismantled, 59
 Sinks in Facile Harbour, 59
 Final rescue of the remnant of her crew, 66
 False account concerning her, 67
 First newspaper reference to wreck, 85
 Log, Appendix E, p. 329 *et seq.*
- ENDEAVOUR, schooner (Kable & Underwood), 80
 Arrives at Dusky, 80
 Visits Breaksea, 80
 Visits Solanders, 80
 Loses a man, 80
 Puts into Launching Cove, 81
 Arrives at Sydney, 81
 Leaves Sydney, 108
 Loses boats crew, 108
 Returns to Sydney, 108
 C. xxiv., p. 269
- ENDERBY (Messrs), shipowners, 89
 Obtain extension of fishing ground, 48
- ENDERBY ISLAND, 95, 99
- ENTERPRISE, American sealer, arrives Hobart, 155
 Touches Auckland Islands, 155
 Touches at Snares, 155
 Lands rescued sealers at Sydney, 155
 Arrives Philadelphia, U.S.A., 156
 Her report of the Snares, 156
 Sold by auction, 156
- ENTRECASTREAU CHANNEL, 226
- ESPINOSA, Point, 56
- ETHNOLOGY of N.Z. Natives, 211-218
- FACILE HARBOUR.
 Cook recommends, 22
 Vancouver anchors in, 29
 Raven in the Britannia, anchors, 40
 Endeavour and Fancy arrive at, 58
 de Blosseville's Journal, 222, 223
- FAHAR, young woman, drowned, 119, 121
- FAIRCHILD (Capt.). His error regarding the Endeavour, 68
- FAIRLEY (Capt.), Alligator, 260
- FAITH, sealer, C. xxiv., p. 276
- FALKLAND ISLANDS, 18
- FALLS OF HALLADALE, reach Foveaux Strait, 29
- FANCY, brig, *see* Bampton master of Endeavour.
See also Endeavour (Bampton's).
- FANNING, chronicler. His remarkable account of the disposal of the seal skins of Pendleton's gang, 88, 89
- FANNY MORRIS, missing vessel, pretended search for, 99
- FAUNA OF TAVAI-POENAMMOU described, 216
- FAVORITE, brig, 89
 Press account of her trip to Penantipodes, 89
- FEEN (C.), master, sealer Mary and Sally, C. xxiv., p. 267
- FELL, second mate, Fancy.
 Surveys and condemns Endeavour, 59

- FENOVA-HO (New Land), 208
 FIRE. Native method of procuring, 215
 FIRST ARM, *see also* Malaspina Creek, 56
 FISCHER (M.), Russian naturalist, 196
 FISH. Supply in Dusky, 18
 FISHER, master, sealer Minerva, 253
 FISHING CONCESSION, *see* Bass (G.), explorer.
 FISHING NETS of the Natives described, 216
 FIVE FINGERS POINT named, 8
 Sighted by Malaspina, 51
 Providence nearly wrecked at, 61
 Presence of seals, 224
 FLAX.
 Reward offered for expert dressers, 38
 Dressers landed Norfolk Island, 38
 Syndicate formed in Sydney to exploit North Island, 112
 Trade expedition to Port Macquarie [Bluff], 130
 Report from Chatham Rope Yard on specimens, 145
 Snapper expedition for, 199, 252
 Alligator, cargo of, 260
 FLINDEES (Lieut.).
 Reference to, 70
 Circumnavigates Van Diemen's Land, 71
 FLOBA. Described by de Blosseville, 228
 FLX, sloop, 117
 FORSTER, father and son, naturalists, 13
 FOSTER, chief officer Prince of Denmark, buried at Antipodes Island, 245
 FOVEAUX, (Lt.-Gov.), 103
 FOVEAUX STRAIT, discovered, 8
 Speculations *re* discovery, 76
 Discovery of, notified, 102
 Comments on notification of discovery, 103
 Reference to trade, 130
 Manners and customs of the Natives, 113, 114
 Commencement of head traffic, 159
 Visited by Snapper, 202
 de Blosseville's journal, 222
 Fully described by de Blosseville, 226
 Geographical resemblance to Bass Strait, 226
 FOX, sealer, 100
 Sails for New Zealand, 107
 Her gang left in Foveaux St. visited by the Governor Bligh, 112
 Wrecked at Amsterdam Island, 113
 Reference to, 151
 Connection with castaways on Solanders, 152
 FRANCIS, schooner. First Australian built vessel. Consort of Britannia, 41, 43
 Sails for Dusky, 42
 Official reason for her voyage to Dusky, 42
 Anchors in Luncheon Cove, 44
 Moves to Facile Harbour for repairs, 44
 Leaves for Port Jackson, 44
 Scene of her wreck, 85
 FREDERICK. Ruatara sails in, to N.Z., 97
 FREEMAN (C.) Advertisement *re* sealskins left on Solanders, 150
 FREYCINET, Com'nder L'Uranie, 270
See L'Uranie, 174
 FRIENDLY ISLAND, Transit of Venus, 3
 FURNEAUX, appointed commander of the Adventure, 13
 Cook's letter to, *re* scurvy, 18
See also, Adventure
 FURNEAUX ISLANDS, 226
 FUR TRADE.
 Chiefly to China, 47
 GABB (John), seaman, Betsy, 169
 GALLEANO (Capt.), *see* Malaspina, 49
 GARBUT, master of Concord, 124, 125, 126
 GENERAL GATES, American sealer.
 Reference to, 164
 Arrives Sydney, 180
 Sails for Bay of Islands, 180
 Carries off convicts, 180
 Seized at Bay of Islands, 181

- Account of her remarkable voyages, 182 *et seq.*
Probably three distinct massacres, 187
Sails from Waihoa for Manilla, 188
Rescue of her sealing gang at South Port by Snapper, 200
Anchors North Port, 202
Sailors massacred, 217, 235
GEOGRAPHE, French ship, 78
GEOGRAPHICAL differences between North and South Islands discussed by de Blosseville, 227
GEORGE. *See* Pipi.
GEORGE, sloop, stranded, 116
 Refloated, 116
 Referred to, 257
GEORGE THE THIRD.
 Exploring expedition, 27
GLORY, sealer, in N.Z. trade, 253
 Record of her cargo, 254
 Lost at Pitts Island, 261
GOODENOUGH (Capt.)
 Endeavour, 108
 Betsy, 167, 170
GOOD INTENT, 81
GOOSE COVE, Dusky.
 Named, 22, 33
GORDON (James), flax trade, 130, 133, 134
GORDON, master, Elizabeth and Mary, 123
GOULBURN ISLAND, *see* Rouabouki, 203
 de Blosseville's journal, 225
GOVERNOR ARTHUR, sealer.
 C. xxiv., p. 275
GOVERNOR BLIGH, ship.
 Sails from Sydney, 101
 Arrives Sydney, 102
 Strikes rock, 102
 Grono, 110
 Search for Leith, 112
 Relieves Fox's gang, 112
 Holding's report on, 127
 Reference to, 151, 167
 Meets Fox, 152
 Arrives with seal skins, 251
 C. xxiv., p. 268
GOVERNOR KING, schooner (35 tons), 80
GOVERNOR KING, schooner (75 tons), sent to Dusky, 84
 Wrecked at Hunter River, 85
GOVERNOR MACQUARIE, brig, 171
GRANVILLE (Lord). Outline of Vancouver's Expedition, 28
GREEN ISLAND.
 Presence of seals, 224
 de Blosseville's journal, 225
 See also Rouabouki Island
GREY (General Sir C.), 116
GRIFFITHS (John), brig Sophia, murdered, 162
GRIFFITHS (Mr), owner, Sydney sealer Glory, 254
GRONO (John), captain.
 Shipowner, 85
 Governor Bligh, 101, 110
 Arrives Sydney, 153
 Captain, Elizabeth, appears at Sydney Police Court *re* the General Gates gang, 185, 186, 187
 Elizabeth sails on sealing trip, 252
 See also Levy and Grono.
GROSE (Major), commander military in Sydney, 39
 Lt. Governor, Sydney, helps Raven, 41
 Despatch referring to visit of Malaspina, 49
GRUB (William), third mate
 Betsy dies, 169
GUNNERA, herb, Macquarie, 196
HANSON (Captain), Daedalus.
 Brings Vancouver's maps to Sydney, 42
HARDY (Robt.) seaman Sally, drowned, 259
HARRINGTON, brig, 116
HASSELBOURGH (Capt. F.), of brig Perseverance.
 Massacre of Boyd, 118
 Discovers Islands, 118
 Drowned at Campbell Id., 119
 Details of death, 121
 Letters of Administration granted, 123
 Islands named after, 123
 C. xxiv., p. 267
HAWES, sealer, 253
 Record of her cargo, 254
HAWKESBURY, sloop, 104
HAZELBURG ISLANDS, 123
HEADS, Maori preserved, 158 *et seq.*
 Letters in Sydney papers, 159 *et seq.*

- Defence of the traffic, 161
 People who prepare them, 212
- HENRY**, American sealer, 253
 Successful, 253
 Second voyage and loss, 253
- HENRY (R.)**, caretaker Resolution Island. Describes present appearance of Cook's Camp at Dusky, 17
 Observations on habits of petrels at Petrel Islands, 33
- HERALD**, H.M.S., 106
- HERBAL BEER**, Cook's recipe, 23
- HERD (Capt.)** of Rosanna (N.Z. Co.), 243
 Surveys neighbourhood of Pegasus, 243, 244
 Visits Otago, 244
 Returns Sydney, 244
- HERD'S Pt.**, Hokianga (N.Z. Co.), 243
- HERVELL (Mr)**, owner of Sydney sealer, Sally, 254
- HINEMOA**, s.s., of N.Z. Government, 33
- HODGES**, artist, 13, 19
- HOLDING**, master, Perseverance. Reports accident Concord, 126
 Reports on various vessels of the Macquarie fleet, 126
- HOLSTEIN (Fred)**, seaman, Betsy, 169
- HOLYFORD (Capt.)**, Boyd, 119
- HONE HEKE**, M.H.R., notes of, on meaning of Maori names used by Edwardson, 218
- HOOD (Dr.)** Agent for Lord at Hobart. Sends Cyprus to Macquarie, 177
- HOOK (Mr)**. Flax trade, 132
- HOOK'S KAYS**, origin of name, 123
- HORN**, Cape, 120
- HORTON (R. W.)**, sec. Earl Bathurst, 238
- HOUSE (W.)** (late of the Discovery), appointed master of Francis, 42
 Unfavourable report on Dusky, 45
See also Francis, schooner
- HOUSE OF COMMONS**.
 Bill *re* sealing traffic, 94
- HOUSES**, description of, and method of construction, 215
- HOWELL (George)**, seaman Sally, drowned, 259
- HULLETS AND BLAKLAND**, ship-owners, 102
- HUNNEGHI**, Maori Chief, Sydney Cove massacre, 166, 217
- HUNT (Thomas)**, seaman, Betsy, 169, 170
 Arrives Sydney, 171
- HUNTER (Capt. J.)**
 Commands Sirius, 27
 Passes South Cape, 27
 Governor N.S.W., 27
- IKA-NA-MAUWI**, 219, 222
- INDEPENDENCE**, schooner, built at Kangaroo Is., 87
 Sails for Bass Strait, 88
 Press notice of loss, 89
 At the Antipodes, 89
- INDIAN COVE**.
 Cook visits Natives, 19, 31
 Henry describes, 19
- INDIAN ISLAND**. Dusky Bay, 20
- IRON ISLAND**.
 Presence of seals, 224
- JACKSON (R.)**, seaman Perseverance, saved, 121
- JAIL**, The. Cove near Dusky, effect of earthquakes, 262
- JAMESON**, master, sealer Haweis, 253
- JAMESON (Capt. R.)**, sealer Queen Charlotte, 259
- JERVIS (Sir)**, Admiral, 116
- JOHN (Jacob)**, master, sealer Elizabeth and Mary, C. xxiv., p. 270
- JONES (R.)**, flax trade, 130, 133, 134, 136, 137
- JONES ISLAND**, 136
- JONES (Mr)**, London, owner of Sydney sealer, Samuel, 254
- JONES, RILEY, & WALKER**, ship-owners, 251
- JOHNSON (Capt. R.)**, Henry, 253
- JOSEPH WELLES**.
 Built by Cook, 246
 Arrives Sydney, 246
 Correspondence *re* granting register, 247
 Register and license granted, 248
 Wrecked at Newcastle, 248
- JUDGE'S CLERK**, reef, 120
- JUDGE ISLAND**, 120
 Sighted by Bellinghausen, 191

- Located by Bellinghansen, 197
 Located by Arosmith, 198
- KABLE AND UNDERWOOD.**
 Seal traders, &c., 79
 Embark in the N.Z. trade, 80
 Names of their vessels, 80
 Reference to fleet, 83
 Attempts on N.Z. trade, 84
 Distress amongst the sealing gangs, 85
 Report on gang, 123
- KACKOKOW ISLAND.** 206
- KANGAROO ISLAND.**
 Independence, built at, 87
 Native of, rescued, 187
 Pakeha Maori, Stuart, comes from, 202
- KEITH, (Capt.),** schooner Adventure, 102, 157
- KELLY (James),** master of sealer Mary and Sally, 269
 Master, brig Sophia, 162
 Circumnavigates Tasmania in open boat, 162
 Evidence of, 550
- KENT (Capt.),** sealer Elizabeth, 260
- KENT (Captain),** Elizabeth Henrietta, 229, 230, 231, 232
 Describes cruelty of Natives, 235
- KENTS BAY,** 90
- KING GEORGE,** whaler, visits Bounties, 96
- KING GEORGE KIBA,** *see* Pipi.
- KING (Governor).** Efforts to obtain flax dressers, 38
 Agreement for supplies for Fancy and Providence, 61, 62
 Efforts for flax trade, 131
- KING ISLAND.** Bass Strait, 226
- KINNAR (W.),** master, sealer Perseverance. C. xxiv., pp. 274, 275, 276
- KIBA, Maori Chief,** 93
- KNIGHTS ISLANDS.** *See* Snares Islands.
 Vancouver named, 31
 Kable and Underwood's gang at, 81
- LABOUR** legislation in regard to sealing and whaling gangs, 85
- LADY BARLOW,** ship, 94
- LAMBTON,** cutter, 1st N.Z. Co.'s fleet, 243
- LANGDON,** master, sealer Lusia-tania, C. xxiv., p. 271
- LASAREW (Capt.),** Mirnyj, 190, 191, 193, 194, C. xxiv., p. 271
- LAUNCHING COVE,** 81
- LAUBENZA,** Portuguese, Betsy, dies, 168
- LAZAREW,** *see* Lasarew
- LEE (John),** passenger from N.Z. in Prince of Denmark, 242
- LEIGH (John),** shipwright, accompanies Stewart from Bay of Islands to Pegasus Bay, 242
- LEITH (William),** Britannia.
 In charge of first sealing gang, 41
- LEITH (William).** In charge North Island flax syndicate, 112
- LESLIE,** master, Robert Quayle, 174, C. xxiv., p. 271
- LEVY (S.)** Writes to Sydney papers reply to "Scaevola," 254, 255
 His opinion on future prospects seal trade, 255
 Prophetic words, 261
- LEVY AND GRONO,** owners Sydney sealer Elizabeth, 254
- LONDON MISSIONARY SOCIETY** deputies, 235
- LORD AUCKLAND ISLANDS,** *see* Auckland Islands.
- LORD (Simeon),** merchant.
 Seal trade, &c., 79
 Sails to Penantipodes to relieve Pendleton's gang, 88
 Fanning's account of his movements, 88, 89
 Theft improbable, 90
 Engages flax trade, 131, 132
 Owns skins left on Solanders, 150
 Dr. Hood, agent for, 177
- LORD RODNEY.** Vessel engaged Stewart's colonization scheme, 240, 241
 C. xxiv., pp. 274, 275
- LORD, WILLIAMS & THOMPSON,** shipowners, 110
 Form flax syndicate, 112
- LORDS RIVER,** 110

- LOVETT (Capt.), sealer Sally.
Description N.Z. Co.'s fleet,
243
Report and description of
Stewart's settlement, 244
References, 259, 260
- LOWRIESTON (David), sealer, 109
- LUNCHEON COVE.
Cook named, 36
Description of buildings erect-
ed by Raven, 40
Raven selects as site for first
N.Z. sealing station, 40, 41
Francis arrives at, 44
First vessel built in Austra-
lasia built here, 44, 60
Bampton and Dell visit, 59
de Blossville's journal, 223
- L'URAINIE, French ship, Scientific
Expedition, 174
C. xxiv., p. 270
- LUSITANIA, sealer, C. xxiv., p.
271
- LYALL (George), N.Z. Co., 237
- LYNSKOP, Lieutenant, Russian
Expedition, 194
- LYNX, Macquarie sealer, reaches
Hobart, 176
C. xxiv., p. 272
- MCCURDY (Hugh), shipwright,
accompanies Stewart from
Bay of Islands to Pegasus,
242
- MCDONALD (M.). Advertisement
re sealskins left on Solan-
ders, 150
Shipping in Fox, 151
Left on Solanders, 152
- MCLENNAN, master, brig Dart, 82
- MCINTYRE, *see*, Byers, Rogers,
McIntyre, & Nixon
- MAC'S PASSAGE, 31, 56
- MCLAREN (Charles), captain, ship
Sydney Cove, 111, 112
- MACQUARIE, (Governor).
Erects a monument to Andrew
Thompson, 104
Statement to, *re* Boyd mas-
sacre, 118
For Port Macquarie, N.Z., *see*
Port Macquarie
See also Bluff
- MACQUARIE ISLAND.
First fleet to, 119
Captain Smith's description
of, 120
- Note on discovery of, 121
Origin of name, 123
Trade, 124
Mary and Sally visited, 125
Visited by Concord, loss of
boat's crew, 126
Campbell Macquarie wrecked,
127, 128, C. xxiv., p. 268
Elizabeth and Mary relieves
wrecked men, 128
Reference, 130, 152
Mary and Sally, 167
Visited by Betsy, 167, 168
Prospects of sealing trade, 172
Notes on rough weather, 173
Great earthquakes, 173, 174
Fresh increase in seals, &c.,
174
Discovery of reef by W. Tay-
lor, 176
Caroline wrecked at, 177
Cyprus sent to, 177
Wellington relieves Cyprus
crew, 177
Cyprus manifest, 178
Sale of Caroline wreck at, 178
Underwood's vessels secure
purchase, 179
Visited by Bellinghausen, 190
Fully described by Belling-
hausen, 190 et seq.
Quadrupeds found there, 196
Located by Aromsmith, 198
Wind and atmospheric condi-
tions, 198
Visited by Elizabeth and
Mary, 251
Governor Bligh, 251
Trade tables, *see* C. xxiv.
Alligator, 275
Aurora, 267
Blues, 276
Brutus, 274
Campbell Macquarie, 268
Caroline, 273
Concord, 267, 268
Cyprus, 273
Elizabeth and Mary, 267,
269, 270, 272, 273, 274,
275, 276
Emerald, 271
Endeavour, 269
Faith, 276
Governor Arthur, 275
Governor Bligh, 268
Lord Rodney, 274, 275

- Lusitania, 271
 Lynx, 272
 Mariner, 272
 Mary and Sally, 267, 268, 269
 Midas, 271, 273
 Mirnyj, 271
 Perseverance, 267, 268, 269, 273, 274, 275, 276
 Rolla, 275
 Star, 267
 Sydney Cove, 268
 Sydney Packet, 274, 275
 Unity, 267
 Wellington, 272, 273, 274
 Wostok, 271
- MAJORIBANKS** (Stewart), N.Z. Co., 237
- MALASPINA** (Spaniard).
 Attempts to enter Breaksea Entrance, 41
 Sails from Cadiz, 49
 Sir Joseph Banks' account of his voyage, 49
 Published account of his observations, 50
 Detailed account of his movements on New Zealand Coast, 50 to 55
 Arrives at Sydney from New Zealand, 55
 His reported subsequent fate, 55
 Charts unobtainable, 55
 Names given by, 55, 56
- MALASPINA CREEK**, 56
- MANAKAU** (N.Z. Co.), 243
- MANUKA**. Described by Cook, 24
- MAORIS**.
 Cook's description of those seen at Dusky, 19
 Cook sees them for the first time at Dusky, 19
 First interview with Cook at Dusky, 19
 Seen by Raven, 40
 Depredations by, 114
 Attack on the Sophia, 162
 General Gates gang, 182
 Manners and customs, 211 to 218
 Occupations of men and women, 215
- MARMON** (John), "Pakeha Maori." His account of the voyage of the Commerce, 98, 99
- MARINER**, sealer, C. xxiv., p. 272
- MAROONED SEALING GANGS**, *See* Sealing Gangs, Marooned
- MARSDEN** (Rev. S.) missionary. His connection with Ruatara, 97, 98
- MARSHALL**, master, sealer Elizabeth and Mary, C. xxiv., p. 271, 272
- MARY AND SALLY**.
 Sailed for Macquarie, 124
 Reported and arrived, 125
 Loss of anchor and cable, 126
 Reports strange animal, 126
 Holding's report on, 126
 Reference to, 167
 C. xxiv., pp. 267, 268, 269
- MASON HARBOUR**, *see* Port Mason
- MASSACRE BAY**, 225
- MAST** found at South Cape, N.Z., 111
- MATILDA**, brig.
 Massacre of three men, 217
- MATS**, Maori, described, 213
- MATTHEW** (Mr), passenger Prince of Denmark, 240
- MCQUEEN**, Sydney merchant.
 Sydney Packet brings cargo from oiling establishment, 274
 Governor Arthur brings oil, 275
- MEDALS**. Given by Cook to Natives at Dusky, 18
- MENZIES** (Archibald), naturalist. His journal of Vancouver's voyage, 32, 35. *See also* Appendix, C., pp. 301 to 317
- MERCURY**, snow.
 Arrives Port Jackson, 66
 Sails to relieve remnant of Endeavour's crew, 66
 Lends Endeavour's people at Norfolk Island, 66
 Her possible history, 66
- MERMAID**, sloop, 208
 Goes to assistance Elizabeth Henrietta, 233
- MEYRICK** (A.), master of whaler Aurora, 93
- MIDAS**, sealer, visits Auckland Islands, 257
 Sails for England, 257
 C. xxiv., pp. 271, 273

- MIKHAILOV (M.)**, Russian Expedition, 191, 194
- MILFORD SOUND**, 222
Fully described by de Blosseville, 223
Reference to, 227
- MILLER (James)**, master, Elizabeth and Mary, 171, C. xxiv., p. 269
- MINNEVA**, sealer, 253
Record of her cargo, 254
- MIRNYJ**, Russian discovery ship. At Macquarie, 175, 190, 193
C. xxiv., p. 271
- MOFFATT (John)**, first mate of Betsy, dies, 168
- MOLYNEUX**, The.
First sighted, 4
Gang without provisions, 113
Brothers massacre, 217
Visited by Morrell in the Antarctic, 264
- MOLYNEUX (Robert)**.
Master of Endeavour, 4
- MOORAMOOTA**, 170, 171
- MORIORI**.
Met with at Chathams, 99
- MOBBELL (Capt.)**, Antarctic, describes South Port, 248
Describes total departure of seals, 263
Visits the Snares, South Port, Molyneux, Tavaimoo, 264
- MOBBELL (Mrs)**.
First white woman visiting the Aucklands, 265
- MOWBY (Jas.)**, *see* Caddell (Jas.)
- MURDERING BEACH**, 162
Attack on Sophia's crew, 162
- MURIHIKU**.
Scope of the work, 1
Geographical description given by de Blosseville, 222
- MURRAY (or Murry) (Robert)**, mate of Endeavour.
At Facile Harbour, 59
References to his log, 60
Appointed to command of the Providence, 65
Extracts from log, 65
Kept logs of the Endeavour, Britannia & Providence, 65
His log, Appendices D. and E., pp. 318 to 349
- MURRAY (Mr)**, of sealer Fox, 107
- Returns to Sydney in Governor Bligh, 112
Description of manners and customs of Foveaux Strait natives, 113, 114
Accident to Macquarie gang, 126
His connection with flax trade in Perseverance, 130 to 147
Calls at Solanders in Perseverance, 149
Probable reason for calling at Solanders, 151
Reference to, 151
- NATURALISTE**, French ship, 78
- NEA ISLAND**, 56
- NEALE (Henry)**, sole survivor of Mary and Sally's gang left on Macquarie, 127
- NEE (Louis)**, botanist of Atrevida, 56
- NEWCASTLE**, sealing schooner, arrives Sydney, 257
- NEW ZEALAND**.
North Island circumnavigation by Cook, 4
Flax fibre, 28
Earl Bathurst denies England's ownership, 238
- NEW ZEALANDER**, schooner, 112
- NEW ZEALAND Co.**
Colonisation scheme, 237
First fleet visit Pegasus Harbour, 243
Description of first fleet, 243
- NIAS (Capt.) H.M.S. Herald**, 106
- NICHOLLS (W.)**, ship's mate.
Letter to the Colonial Times, Hobart, 111
Lands at South Cape, N.Z., 111
- NIXON**, *see* Byers, Rogers, McIntyre & Nixon.
- NOBBY ISLAND**, N.S.W. Wreck of Elizabeth Henrietta, 235
- NOBODY KNOWS WHAT**, 31
- NOMENCLATURE**.
Names given by Cook and Vancouver, 36
Names given by Malaspina, 55, 56
Names given by Hasselburgh, 123
- NOOTKA SOUND**, 28
- NOZIE's Map**, 225

- NUKUHIVA**, King of N.Z., *see de Thierry*, 237
- OBRENEBESSOF**, lieutenant, Russian sloop *Mirnyj*, 196
- OCEAN**, whaler, 94
Sights the Auckland Group, 94
- ONE** (tree), 213
- OIL**. *See* Elephant oil.
Export duty on imposed, 110
C. xxiv., pp. 267 to 276
- OLD MAN'S BLUFF**.
Rounded by Snapper, 202
Edwardson lands, 204
de Blossesville's journal, 225
- OLIPHANT**, master of schooner
Endeavour, 80
His report on Natives of New Zealand, 81
Visits Solander Island, 148
- OTAGO**, Maori Chief, connection with Caddell, 164
- OTAGO HARBOUR**, 162. *See also* Port Daniel.
- OTAHUTE**.
Transit of Venus, 3
Broughton heads for, 35
Visited by Bass, 72
Survivors of *Betsy* arrive from, 171
- PADDOCK**, master *Favourite*, 89
- PAIHI**, Maori Chief, 202
Surrenders goods pillaged, 202
Embarks on Snapper, 202
His village described, 202
Forms plot against Edwardson, 204
- PAIHI BAY**, 204
Natives form plot to murder Edwardson's crew, 204
- PAINTED DUCK**, 21
See also Paradise Ducks.
- PALMER** (George), N.Z. Co., 237
- PALMER & Co.**, seal traders, 79
Referred to by French Expedition, 79
Employ W. Stewart, 116
- PARADISE DUCKS**, 21, 135
- PARKINSON** (Sydney), draughtsman, 5, 6
- PARROTS** at Macquarie, 197
- Pegasus**, ship.
Arrives Port Jackson, 101
Sails in pursuit of pirates, 101
Returns to Sydney, 101
Sails from Sydney, 101
- Strikes rock *Foveaux St.*, 102
Arrives Sydney, 102
Advertises for men, 104
Sails for England *via* Hobart, 104
Circumnavigates Stewart Is., 105
Discovers Cook's mistake, 106
Visits Chathams, 106
Arrives Gravesend, 106
Stewart joins, 117
Reference to, 157
Her work referred to by de Blossesville, 222
- PEGASUS BAY** (Cook's Mistake), 105
- PEGASUS HARBOUR**. *See also* South Port and Southern Port.
Discovered and named, 104
Surveyed by Stewart, 105
British Sovereignty declared, 106
de Blossesville's journal, 225
Reference to, 226, 227
Stewart starts ship building yard, 242
Visited by Herd, 243
Visited by Antarctic, 248
- PEGASUS ISLAND**.
Identical with Codfish, 105
Surveyed by Stewart, 105, 262
- PENDLETON**, master, brig *Union*, 87
Visits Kangaroo Island, 87
Builds Independence, 87
Lands first sealing gang on Penantipodes, 87
Sails for Fiji, 88
Murdered at Tongataboo, 88
Press notice, 89
- PENDULO BAY**, 56
- PENANTIPODES ISLANDS**. *See also* Antipodes.
Discovery by Waterhouse, 68, 69
Pendleton lands first gang, 87
- PEBOUSE, DE LA**, 120
- PEBO** (Jose).
Passenger from Macquarie, 275
- PERSERVERANCE** (American).
Visits Bass Strait, 90
Visits Bounties, 91
- PERSERVERANCE** (Sydney sealer).
Visits sealing islands, 100

- Bay of Islands, punitive expedition, 118
 Finds new sealing grounds, 118
 Sealing expedition, 119
 Reports wreckage on Macquarie, 119
 Returns from Macquarie with cargo, 119, 120
 Her report on loss of captain and men, 121, 122
 Reported in Storm Bay, 125
 Returns to Sydney from Macquarie, 125
 Engages flax trade, 130
 Visits Solanders, relieves sealers, 133, 149
 Port Macquarie, 134
 Sails for Sydney, 138
 Lands relieved gang, 150
 Visits Macquarie Id., 179
 Refitted for sealing to N.Z., 253
 Wrecked on Campbell Id., 276
 C. xxiv., pp. 267, 268, 269, 273, 274, 275, 276
- PERSEVERANCE HARBOUR.**
 Origin of name, 123
- PETRELS.** *See* Henry (Mr).
- PHILLIP, Governor.**
 Appointed, 26
 Fears for success of sealing trade, 47
 Proposed extreme punishment, 81
 Efforts for flax trade, 131
- PHOCA PROBOSCIDEA**, 191, 195
- PHOENIX**, from Sydney for England, 140
- PHORMIUM**, *see also* Flax.
 Abundant at Port Macquarie, 202
 Grows well at Rouabouki Island, 203
 Attempts by Snapper's crew to prepare, 203
 Scarce at Port Mason, 206
 Fully described by Edmondson, 208, 209
 de Blosseville mentions, 221
 Elizabeth Henrietta sails for a cargo, 229
- PICKERSEILL HARBOUR.**
 Named, 15
 Description of Cook's camp, 15, 16
- Author gives account of his visit to, 17
 Visited by Raven, 40
- PICKERSEILL**, lieutenant, Resolution at Dusky, 15
- PILGRIM**, American sealer. *See also* Delano.
 Visits Bass Strait, 90
- PIPI**, Maori: ships on Star, 93
- POENAMMOU**, 213, 222
- POLYGAMY** amongst Natives, 214
- PAROA**, Thames (N.Z. Co.), 243
- PORT DALRYMPLE**, 226
- PORT DANIEL** (Otago Hb.), 162
- PORT-EGMOND** hens, 190, 193, 197
- PORT JACKSON**, N.S.W., 220
- PORT MACQUARIE.** *See also* Old Man's Bluff.
 Named and examined, 134
 Country adjacent to, explored, 135, *et seq.*
 Suitable for a harbour, 139, 140
 Williams' proposals, 142
 Description of harbour, 146, 147
 French charts give name, 147
 Visited by Snapper, 202, 207
 Described by de Blosseville, 224, 225
 Reference to, 226
- PORT MASON**, 205
 Snapper anchors, 207
 Terrific storm, 207
 Description of reef, 208
 de Blosseville's journal, 222 and 225
- PORT PEGASUS**, 222
See Pegasus Harbour
- PORT PHILLIP**, 116, 226
- PORT WILLIAMS** (or William).
 110, 137, 140, 146, 226
 Visited by Perseverance, 133
- POWELL (J.)**, master, sealer Endeavour, 269
- PRESERVATION BAY.**
 Described by de Blosseville, 224
 Reference to, 227
- PRESERVATION INLET**, 222
- PROVIDENCE**, schooner.
 Commissioned, 60
 Leaves Facile Hr., 61
 Arrives Norfolk Island, 61
 Sails for Batavia, 64
 Log of, 65, 349

- PROVIDENCE ROCK.**
Touched by Snapper, 199
- PROVISIONS.**
Method of storing, 215
- PRICE (Joseph), seaman, General Gates, 182, 183**
- PRINCE OF DENMARK, schooner.**
Arrives Sydney, 240
Advertised to sail for N.Z., 241
Sails for Bay of Islands and returns, 241
First N.Z. trip a failure, 242
Returns from second trip, 245
Leaves on third trip, 245
Chief officer's grave, Antipodes Is., 245
Return and sale, 246
Enters Hobart Town trade, 246
- QUEEN CHARLOTTE, brig, sealer, 171**
Visits Bristow's Is., 259
- QUEEN CHARLOTTE SOUND.**
Winter quarters of Cook, 14
Visited by Leith, 112
Reference to by de Blosseville, 219, 227
- QUEEHLEN ISLAND, 192**
- QUINTANO (F.), lieutenant, Discuvierta, 56**
- QUINTANO POINT, 56**
- RAGGEDY POINT, 206, 226**
- RAINE (Thomas), master, sealer Surry, 271**
- RAVEN, master, Britannia. See also, Britannia**
Sights Snares, called by him Sunday Islands, 41
Evidence as to healthfulness of Dusky, 43
Leaves N.Z. shores, 57
- RAWSON (W.), seaman, General Gates, murdered, 182, 183**
- REGALIA, Macquarie sealer.**
Sails from Hobart, 175
Enters Sydney and Macquarie trade to England, 175
C. xxiv., pp. 271, 272
- RELIANCE (H.M.S.)**
Leaves Port Jackson, 68
Discovers Penantipodes Islands, 68
- RELIGION, of Maoris, 216**
- RESOLUTION, sloop.**
Cook's second voyage, 13
Sails from Dusky, 24
- RESOURCE, see also Assistance.**
- RHODES, master, Alexander, 81**
- RICHARDSON (Job), seaman Sally, 259**
- RIGGS (Abimeleck). See also General Gates.**
Master, General Gates, 180
Arrested by Skinner, 181
Returned to Sydney and fined, 181, 182
Revenge on Maoris, 182, 235
- RILEY, see Jones, Riley & Walker**
- RIMGATAN, 170**
- RIMU. Described by Cook, 24**
- ROBERT QUAYLE, Macquarie sealer, sails from Hobart, 174 C. xxiv., p. 271**
- ROBERTS (Capt. H.) George III. Exploring Expedition, 27**
- ROGERS (Thos.), seaman, Betsy, 169, 170**
Arrives Sydney, 171
- ROGERS, see Byers, Rogers, McIntyre, and Nixon**
- ROLLA, sealer. C. xxiv., p. 275**
- ROOK, master, sealer Elizabeth and Mary, C. xxiv., p. 269**
- ROSANNA, ship.**
First N.Z. Co.'s fleet, 243
- ROSCHEMANOW, Russian Commodore, 190**
- ROSE, master, sealer Brutus, 274**
- ROSS (Capt.)**
Elizabeth Henrietta, 229
Mrs, drowned, 229
- ROUABOUKI ISLAND, see also Ruapuke and Goulbourn.**
Described, 202-3
Excellent for Phormium, 203
Snapper ships potatoes, 207
de Blosseville's journal, 225
Reference to, 226
- ROUTER (Thomas), seaman on General Gates murdered, 182, 183**
- ROYAL SOCIETY.**
Medal granted to Cook, 22
- RUAPUKE ISLAND. See also Rouabouki and Goulbourn.**
Discovered, 4
Residence Mr Wohlers, 187
Wreck of Elizabeth Henrietta, 230
Why called Goulbourn, 235
- RUATARA, Maori chief.**
History of, 96, 97, 98

- RUTHERFORD (John).** Stories of New Zealand, 156, 157
Reference to Caddell, 164
Story as to his final career, 165
- St CRVALLOS (Capt.)** *See* Malaspina, 49
- St MICHAEL,** ship, 233
- SALLY,** Van Diemen's Land sealer, 248
Reaches Auckland Is., 259
Two boats and six men lost, 259
Unsuccessful sealing trip, 259
At Pegasus, sealing, 260
At Antipodes and Bounties, 260
On coast of N. Zealand, 260
Arrives Hobart, 260
Brings two Maoris, 260
Wrecked at L'anceston, 260
- SAMUEL,** sealer, brings remnant of General Gates gang, 187
Discovery General Gates massacre, 235
In N.Z. trade, 253
Record of her cargo, 254
Assists the Wellington, 258
Arrives with skins from Auckland Is., 259, 260
Last good cargo, 261
Takes Glory's crew to Sydney, 262
- SANTA ANNA,** sealing vessel, visits Bounties, 96
Calls Bay of Islands, 96
Returns Sydney, 96
Returns Bounties, 96
Arrives Thames (Eng.), 97
- SARAH,** sealing vessel.
Visits Auckland Islands, 95
Captured by Revenge, 95
Recaptured, 95
- SAWERS (Capt. W.),** Antipode, 102
- SAUNDERS,** Cape.
Discovered, 4
- SAUNDERS (M.).**
Russian Expedition, 192
- "**SCAEVOLA.**"
Writer on sealing in Sydney papers, 254
His estimate of seal skins to arrive 254
- SCORPION,** whaler. Her voyage from England to Dusky, 83
Secures seals at Dusky, 83
Sails for England, 83
- SCOTCH** domination in Otago, a forecast, 6
- SCRIBE,** island, located by Bellinghausen, 197
Located by Arosmith, 198
- SCURVY.** Cook's method of preventing, 18
- SEA BEARS,** 195
- SEA ELEPHANTS.** *See also* Sealing.
Habits and capture described, 192, 195, 196
- SEALING,** Seals and Sealers.
Cook claimed as its inaugurator, 24
Mr Eber Bunker's proposed gang, 38
Seal Islands visited by Raven, 40
Britannia's gang (Raven) lands at Luncheon Cove, 40
Britannia and Francis relieve Raven's gang, 42
Description of vessel built by Raven's gang, 43
Trade chiefly with China, 47
Fall in price of skins, 47
Extended boundaries granted, 48
Causes leading to opening up New Zealand grounds, 78
Referred to by Turnbull, 79
Vessels not officially recorded, 82
Only wealth produced, 83
Labour legislation, 85
Limits defined, 85
Seals in prohibited districts, 86
Description of their numbers by Sir Joseph Banks, 86
First gang landed at Penantipodes islands, 87, 88
Bill passed in British Parliament, 94
Sir Joseph Banks remarks on boundaries of N.Z. sealing grounds, 94
Marooned gangs. Solanders' 148, Active's 153, Adventure's 155
Method of living on Solanders, 149
Advertisement *re* skins left at Solanders, 150
At Macquarie. Manner of living described, 191 *et seq.*

- Huts at Macquarie described, 194
- Methods of undertaking and conducting, 220, 221
- Sketch of its gradual extinction, 250 *et seq.*
- Improving prospects, 253
- List of Sydney owned sealers, 254
- Opinions as to future of, by Scaevola and Levey in Sydney papers, 254, 255, 256
- Causes of the disappearance of seals, 256
- Estimate of number and value of skins landed at Sydney, 256
- Number of cargoes landed at Sydney, 258
- Evidences of decay, 260
- Hobart press on its decline, 260, 261
- Systematically pursued by Natives, 263
- Great sealing trade over, 264
- SECRETARY ISLAND, 110, 154, 155
- SEDDONS, *see* Siddons, master of Lynx, Macquarie sealer, 176
- SHAFFREY (Henry), castaway, Solanders, 151
- SHIPBUILDERS COVE, Pegasus, 242
- SHIPPY (H.)
- Advertisement *re* seal skins left on Solanders, 150
- Shipping on Perseverance, 151
- Reference to, 152
- SIDDONS (R.)
- Master, Campbell Macquarie, 128
- C. xxiv., pp. 269, 270, 272
- Master Elizabeth and Mary, 129
- SIMANOFF (M.), Russian Expedition, 191
- SIMONS (John), seaman on Sally, drowned, 259
- SIRIUS, transport.
- Voyages and wreck, 27
- SIRONE, captain of Commerce, 98
- SMALL BAY (Murdering Beach), 162
- SMITH (O. F.)
- Master of Aurora, 118, 119
- Describes Campbell and Macquarie Islands, 120
- SMITH (F.), master of Independence, 87
- SMITH (Mr), second officer, Perseverance, 134
- SMITH SOUND, *see also* Malaspina Creek, 56
- SMITH (William), captain of brig William, discovers South Shetlands, 251
- SMITH (W.), seaman, General Gates, murdered, 182, 183
- SNAPPER, Government brig.
- Returns from N.Z. to Sydney, 163
- Cruise of, described by de Blosseville, 199 *et seq.*
- Enters Chalky Bay, 199
- Touches Providence Rock, 199
- Anchors South Port, 200
- Rescues gang of the General Gates, 200
- Visits Foveaux Strait, 202-3
- Anchors in Port Macquarie, 202
- Anchors at Kouabonki Island, 203, 207
- Anchors in Easy Harbour, 206
- Anchors in Codfish Harbour, 206
- Anchors in Port Williams, 206
- Arrives Port Macquarie, 207
- Anchors in Port Mason, 207
- Anchors in Chalky Bay, 208
- Arrives Sydney, 208, 252
- Voyage mentioned by de Blosseville, 221
- Reference to, 229
- Attempt to revive N.Z. sealing, 252
- SNAPPER, PORT, 203
- de Blosseville's journal, 222
- Described by de Blosseville, 225
- SNARES, The.
- Discovery, 35, 69
- Visited by Bass Strait Sealers, 90
- Described by Delano, 91
- Coffin rescues three men from, 156
- Referred to in the Oriental Navigator, 157
- Visited by Antarctic, 264, 265
- SNOWDEN (Ralph).
- Master, Joseph Weller, 248
- SOLANDER ISLANDS.
- Named by Cook, 6

- Visited by *Perseverance*, 133, 149
 Described, 148, 149, 150
 Castaway sealers discovered, 150
 Two islands on chart, 225
 Reference, 226
SOLANDEE, Dr., naturalist, 6
 Declines to go in *Resolution*, 13
SOPHIA, brig, 161
 Her trip to New Zealand, 162
SOUTH ANTIPODES. *See* Penantipodes, 87
SOUTH CAPE, named, 6
 Hunter in *Sirius* passes, 27
 Oliphant off, 80
 The General Gates, 184
SOUTH GEORGIA sealing trade
 Hobart press remarks, 261
SOUTH ISLAND.
 Future prospects discussed by de Blossville, 228
SOUTH PORT.
 Snapper anchors in, 200
SOUTH PORT, *see also* Pegasus Harbour, 264
SOUTH SHETLAND ISLES. Seals discovered, 281
SOUTHERN PORT. *See also* Pegasus Harbour.
 Described by Herd, 244
SOUTHERN GEORGIA, island, 191
SOUTHERN ISLES, 151
SOMEBODY KNOWS WHAT, 81
SOUTHERN HEMISPHERE.
 Admiralty Exploration, 13
SPANISH NAMES.
 Given by Malaspina, 55, 56
 Hope of their revival, 56
SPEEDWELL, sloop.
 Stranded, 85
 Sent to New Zealand, 85
 Loses three men, 85
 Returns to Sydney, 85
 Reference, 104, 110
STAR, brig.
 Visits Penantipodes, 93
 Arrives Whangaroa, 93
 Sails Penantipodes, 93
 Arrives Sydney, 93
 Sealing expedition, 119
 Sails for England, 123
 C. xxiv., p. 267
STEWART (William).
 Master, brig *Venus*, 92
 Lands on Penantipodes in charge of gang, 93
 Relieved by *Star*, 93
 First officer, *Pegasus*, 104
 His chart and report on Stewart Island, 105
 Completes chart of Chathams, 106
 Pilot H.M.S. *Herald*, 106
 His connection with the discovery of Foveaux Strait discussed, 106, 107
 Peculiarities of signature, 107
 Short sketch of his career, 116, 117
 In Cumberland at Campbell Island, 127
 Flax and timber scheme, 237 *et seq.*
 Visits Stewart Island and Bay of Islands in Prince of Denmark, 242
 Starts ship building yard at Port Pegasus, 242
 His claim to the discovery of Stewart Island discussed, 244
 Hardships in Sydney, 246
 Final failure of scheme, 248
STEWART ISLAND.
 First sighted, 4, 5
 Cook's description of, 5, 7
 Named, charted and circumnavigated, 105
 Visited by *Perseverance*, 130, 147, 149
 Reference, 206
 de Blossville's journal, 222
 Its harbours named and described, 225
 Named after W. Stewart, 244
STORM BAY PASSAGE, 125
STOWAWAYS on the *Endeavour* (Bampton's), 58, 62
STOWERS (Edward), seaman, Sally, drowned, 259
STREET (Thomas), owner Sydney scaler Sally, 254
STUART, Pakeha Maori, met by Edwardson, 202
STUART (Capt.), pilot. *See* Stewart (William)
SUNDAY ISLANDS. *See* Raven
SURRY, scaler. C. xxiv., p. 271
SUTIL, galera, 49

- PITTS ISLAND**, Chathams.
Glory lost, 261
- SWINDELLS** (Captain), Glory, 261
Sails from Chathams to Bay
of Islands in an open boat,
262
- SYDNEY PACKET**, sealer.
C. xxiv., pp., 274, 275
- SYDNEY**, ship, 94
- SYDNEY COVE**, ship.
At South Cape, 111
Nearly lost on Traps, 112
Gangs destitute, 113
At Norfolk Island, 114
Reported Port William, 115
Visits Macquarie, 119, 124
In distress at Macquarie, 127
Massacre of her boat's crew
165, 217
C. xxiv., p. 267, 268
- TABLE CAPE**.
Perseverance off, 138
- TAVAI-POENAMMOU**, 208.
Ethnology, 211—218, 222
- TARAI-POENAMMOU**, 165
- TASMAN**.
Discoveries of, 3
- TATTOOING**, 212, 218, 215
- TAVAIMOO**, village at Molyneux,
described by Morrell, 264
- TAYLOR** (D.)
Master, sealer Caroline, 176
Master, sealer Sydney Packet,
C. xxiv., p. 275
- TAYLOR** (Rev. E.) Maori method
of preserving heads, 158
Description of Dusky Bay
earthquakes and their re-
sults, 262
- TE ANAU-MILFORD TRACK**, 84
- TEES**, H.M.S.
Goes to assistance Elizabeth
Henrietta, 230
Unavailing efforts to float
Elizabeth Henrietta, 230
Returns to Sydney, 231
Not the first to pass through
Foveaux Strait, 235
- TEES STRAIT** (Foveaux), 235
- THAYER** (Capt.), schooner, Yan-
kee, 258
- THIERRY** (Baron de).
Colonization scheme, 237
Correspondence with Earl
Bathurst, 238
- THOMAS**, American sealer, 257
- THOMPSON**, master, sealer Syd-
ney Packet, C. xxiv., p. 274
- THOMPSON** (Andrew), shipowner,
85, 104
Monument erected to, 104
- THOMPSON** (Joseph), master, seal-
er Midas, 273
- THOMPSON SOUND**.
Named by Grono, 109
Called after A. Thompson, 110
Active's gang at, 154
- THOMSON** (Deas), Colonial Sec-
retary, 110
- THOMSON** (Mr). Report on Mac-
quarie earthquake, 178, 174
- THREE KINGS**.
The Betsy survivors, 171
- TIRE** (John), seaman Betsy, 169
- TODD** (G. K.), master, Cyprus, 178
- TONGHI-TOUOI** (Touggli-Touci).
Maori girl, married Caddell,
165, 217
- TO OUHERRUA**, Maori chief, 202
His village visited by Ed-
wardson, 202
- TORRENS** (Colonel), N.Z. Co., 237
- TORSON** (M.), Russian Expedi-
tion, 194
- TOWNSHEND**, master, Independ-
ence, 89
Press notice, 89
- TRANSIT** of Venus, 3
- TRAPS**, rocks.
Discovery of 5, 69
Vancouver avoids, 35
Sighted, 99
Ship Sydney Cove, 112
Narrow escape of Sophia, 162
- TREENA**, Maori, 81
- TRIANGLE ROCKS**, 206
- TUCKER** (Captain).
Traffic in Maori heads, 161
His ultimate fate, 161
Brig, Sophia, murdered, 162
Killed by Natives, 217
- TAPI** or Toupri, Maori chief, 202
Warns Edwardson of Paihi's
plot, 204
- TURNER** (Benjamin), sawyer.
Accompanies Stewart from
Bay of Islands to Pegasus,
242
- TYERMAN**, London Missionary So-
ciety, 235
- UNDERWOOD** (Joseph), shipowner.
Sends the Campbell Mac-

- quarie to Macquarie, 128
 Purchases Elizabeth and Mary to relieve shipwrecked crew, 128
 Employed Betsy, 167
 In Macquarie trade, 173
 Advertising for hands for Macquarie, 173
 Owner of Wellington, 230, 254
 C. xxiv., p. 272
UNDERWOOD (Thomas).
 Supercargo Cyprus, C. xxiv., p. 273
 Passenger to Macquarie, 274
UNION, brig.
 Visits Kangaroo Island, 87
 Arrives Sydney, 87
 Arrives Penantipodes, 87
 Lands sealing gang, 87
 Returns to Sydney, 87, 88
 Departs from Sydney for Fiji, 88
 Reaches Tongataboo, 88
 Lost at Fiji, 88
UNITY of London, schooner.
 Trouble with Sydney authorities, 109
 Makes sealing voyage to New Zealand, 109
 Bay of Island Natives friendly, 109
 Damaged in storm, 109, 110
 Reaches Gravesend, 110
 Sealing expedition, 119
 Reported, 124
 C. xxiv., p. 267
VANCOUVER (Capt. G.). *See also*
 Vancouver's Expedition.
 Sails in the Discovery, 28
 Anchors in Facile Harbour, 29
 Discovery breaks adrift, 30
 Observations on the weather at Dusky, 31
 Survey of Dusky, 31
 Care and conscientiousness exhibited, 32, 33
 Tribute to value of Dusky, 34
 Discovers Snares, 35
 Results of expedition, 36
 Referred to by de Blouville, 219, 223
VANCOUVER ARM (Dusky), 81
VANCOUVER'S EXPEDITION.
 Arrives at Dusky, 29
 Leaves Dusky, 34
- Meets Natives, 31, 32
 Encountered storm at Dusky, 30
VENUS, brig (142 tons).
 Purchased by Bass, 71
 Subsequent voyages, 71, 77
VENUS, brig (45 tons).
 Sails for Penantipodes, 92
 Returns to Sydney, 93
 "VERAX." Letter re traffic in Maori heads, 159
VIOLE (Veto), of brig Sophia, murdered, 162
VOLCANO, 222
WAINE, chief officer, Endeavour.
 Surveys Endeavour, 59
 Transferred to the Resource, 60
 Left at Facile by Bampton, 61
WAIKIKI ISLAND (N.Z. Co.), 243
WALKER, astronomer, 13
WALKER, *see* Jones, Riley and Walker.
WALKER (Theo.), master of sealer Elizabeth and Mary, 269
WATERHOUSE, (Commander), *see* Reliance.
WATSON (Capt.), owner of a Sydney sealer, 254
WEBSTER (James), seaman General Gates, murdered, 182-3
WEST (James), seaman General Gates, 182, 183
WHANGAROA, 93
WEKA, The. Its depredations on imported birds, 22
WELLINGTON, brig.
 Rescues survivors of Caroline at Macquarie, 177
 Takes mate of wrecked Elizabeth Henrietta to Sydney, 230
 Crew mentioned by Captain Coe, 232
 Enters N.Z. trade, 253
 Assists at wreck of Elizabeth Henrietta, 254
 Record of her cargo, 254
 Carpenter steals ship's boat, &c., 258
 At Auckland Islands, 259
 C. xxiv., pp. 272, 273, 274
WEST CAPE, 8, 225, 226
WESTERN HARBOUR, 226
WHALING on New Zealand coast mentioned by Turnbull, 80

- WHIRLPOOLS in Foveaux Strait, 226
- WHITE (J.), master of sealer Lord Rodney, C. xxiv., p. 275
- WHITE, master of sealer Rolla, 275
- WHITE (Mr), passenger to Macquarrie per Brutus, C. xxiv., p. 274
- WILKINSON, (J.), master of Star, 98, 119
- WILLETT, master, sealer Faith, C. xxiv., p. 276
- WILLIAM AND ANN, whaler, 88
- WILLIAMS (Robert), rope maker. Sails in Perseverance, 130
Report on N.Z. flax, suitable localities and possibilities, 130 to 144
- WILLIAMS (T.)
Advertisement *re* seal skins left on Solanders, 150
Ships in Fox, 151
Left on Solanders, 152
- WILLIAMS HARBOUR, *see also* Port William or Williams, 222
- WILMAN (Thomas), seaman of Betsy, dies, 168
- WILSON (Capt.), owner Hobart Town sealer, 259
- WILSON (John), seaman, Betsy, dies, 168
- WINDSOR RIVER described, 224
- WOHLERS (Rev. J. F. H.)
Account of Native outrage and revenge taken by Riggs, 187, 188
Gives origin of name Henrietta Bay, 236
- WOLLSTENCRAFT. *See* Berry and Wollstencraft
- WOOD HEAD, *see* Espinoza, 56
- WOODWARD (George), passenger from Macquarie Id. in Perseverance, C. xxiv., p. 275
- WORTH (Captain), Elizabeth and Mary, 259
C. xxiv., pp. 272, 273, 274, 275, 276
- WOSTOCK, Russian discovery ship at Macquarie, 175, 190, 192
C. xxiv., p. 271
- WRIGHT (D.), first mate, Union. Takes command, 88
Murdered at Fiji, 88
- Wright (Thomas), master, Prince of Denmark, 246
- WYLD's Map of New Zealand, 55
- YANKEE, American schooner, 177
Visits Sydney, 259
At Auckland Island, 259
- YOUNG (Nicholas).
First to sight New Zealand, 6
- ZAVADOVSKY (Mr), Russian Expedition, 191, 192, 193

THE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, SANTA CRUZ

This book is due on the last **DATE** stamped below.

DEC 4 '76

NOV 8 '76

DEC 15 2005

50m-1,'69(J5643s8)2373—3A,1

NRLF

DU430.08M316



3 2106 00052 5623

